

PEACE NEWS

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BARRIERS TO PEACE CAN BE OVERCOME ONLY IF BRITAIN WILL LEAD THE WAY

From Our Own Correspondent

"I WANT to dispel any idea that we have a hopeless position. All people are agreed that the conditions which produce war are man-made, and therefore can be unmade by man.

"You who are young have a world in front of you unparalleled in opportunity. You have today an opportunity the world has dreamed of but has never realized."

Pessimism was thus confounded by Mr. George Lansbury, MP, president of the Peace Pledge Union, at a convention held by the Pacifist Parliamentary Group in Sheffield City Hall on Saturday to give political direction to pacifist hopes.

In closing the convention on this note of hopefulness and encouragement, he had yielded to the requests of many delegates to speak a second time. His first speech had been for the purpose of moving a resolution calling for the adoption of a practical and positive pacifist policy—the only way to "un-

make the conditions which produce war."

The first step, he said, would be to call a world conference at which Great Britain, as the nation which had set the imperialist example to the world, and which had exploited possessions taken by force more than any other country, should take a new lead in bringing about an appeasement of the economic strife which was the prime cause of war.

The difficulties were not insuperable, he declared, because there was enough room in the world for all, and there were sufficient raw materials and markets in abundance.

"If nations willingly put as much energy and thought into the job of discussing and organizing a sharing of the world as they are putting into the destruction of the world, they would find a way out relatively easily."

Seconding the resolution, Dr. Alfred Salter, MP, declared that economic misery was the cause of the rise and progress of fascism.

The Alternative

He urged that there was no other alternative to a world conference but war, and warned his listeners that the present situation could not go on much longer without the collapse of the whole economic structure of Europe.

United support for the Peace Pledge Union Manifesto, which, during the past few weeks has been distributed all over the country to awaken people to the



Here is an example of how ARP are affecting the minds of children. These youngsters, who were noticed playing on a piece of disused land in Salford, said they were making a bomb-proof shelter to play in. The picture appeared in the *Manchester Evening News* last week.

need for constructive pacifism, was asked for in an emergency resolution.

Moving the resolution, Mr. Cecil H. Wilson, MP, reminded those who would condone a war of defence that "defence by violence means surrender to the domination of the totalitarian State."

"You cannot civilize war," declared the Rev. Henry Carter, who moved the first resolution. He added: "If Christianity will fight war with the weapons of Christianity, truth and love, once again the Church will bring the world to the feet of God."

Danger of Conscription

"If we are unsuccessful in converting public opinion to pacifism during the next few months, then we must face the necessity of conscription; but we must have conscription of *wealth* first."

This warning of the urgent necessity of spreading the pacifist message now was given by Mr. H. G. McGhee, MP, to whom fell the task of proposing the keenly debated third resolutions.

He denounced ARP as a "cruel sham and a fraud" because it lulled the population into a false sense of security, being based on the assumption that either gas, explosive, or incendiary bombs would be used, but not all three.

A special appeal to women was made by Lady Mabel Smith, who said that their problem was simpler than that of their menfolk.

THIS IS THE WAY

In addition to the usual first resolution dealing with the renunciation of war, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

A Practical and Positive Pacifist Policy

This convention proclaims that the attainment of permanent peace requires vital changes (1) in the mood of those nations which, like our own, are able to assist others by means of the privileges which they have in large measure safeguarded for themselves; and (2) in existing international machinery with a view to its adaptation to genuinely peaceful methods and purposes.

1. **World Conference.** This convention therefore calls for a World Conference at which economic and territorial grievances may be examined, discussed and settled by mutual adjustment, if necessary by definite sacrifices on the part of those nations which, like our own, control a large proportion of the natural resources of the earth; and declares in favour of the organization of the world's supply and exchange of raw materials and foodstuffs on the basis of the rights and needs of all peoples, in place of the present trade restrictions, and accordingly welcomes the Van Zeeland Report.

2. **League of Nations.** With a view to securing a planned world organization for peace instead of for war, this convention declares that the League of Nations should be transformed by:

(a) Founding the authority of the League on the moral influence of world public opinion rather than upon the armed coercion of "collective security" or of "an international police force";

(b) Extending the League's powers of conciliation, and of securing treaty revision and agreed territorial change;

(c) Applying the principle of international control to all undeveloped areas; eliminating in all cases the exploitation and rule of subject peoples for imperial purposes; and educating and training primitive peoples with a view to their self-government;

(d) Devising a system of controlling international land, sea and air routes;

(e) Establishing international machinery for a planned world production and supply in the interests of all peoples;

(f) Enlarging the present humanitarian activities of the League.

The Removal of all Preparations and Commitments of a Military Character

Armaments.—This convention declares in favour of Great Britain's introduction to a World Conference of a proposal for total disarmament. Failing agreement on such a measure, this convention considers that this country should proceed to disarmament by example.

Treaties.—This convention believes that Great Britain should refrain from making new treaties and give notice forthwith to terminate old treaties and commitments with other Powers which might require this country to take part in military, naval or air force operations of any kind.

Conscription.—Unalterably opposed to conscription, universal military service or compulsory training, this convention resolves to support those who feel a conscientious moral conviction to take no part in war or the preparations for war.

Air Raid Precautions.—This convention is of opinion that air raid precautions are in any case incapable of securing the defence of the people, and therefore opposes them because they are designed to create war psychology and to act as the preliminary steps to the militarization of the nation.

Government Admits A.R.P. Are Part of War Machine

SCHEMES FAIL FOR LACK OF MEN

THE latest move on the air raid precautions "front" has been a sudden development of the campaign to present the need for completing schemes as extremely urgent and important.

At a conference on Monday attended by 1,700 representatives of local authorities, Sir Samuel Hoare asked for the enrolment by the end of the summer of practically all the million volunteers he wants. By the end of the year he demanded a comprehensive ARP organization for all important areas.

The lack of recruits is probably the most spectacular evidence of the failure

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of the schemes so far, and the possibility of conscription will be brought correspondingly nearer if the new propaganda drive also fails. When the local authorities got into their stride, Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd told Parliament, he anticipated that literally millions would be receiving instruction.

OFFICIALLY PART OF MILITARY MACHINE

THE LAST VESTIGE OF PRETENCE THAT SERVICE, VOLUNTARY OR CONSCRIPTED, UNDER AIR RAID

(Continued on page 2, col. 1.)

Are We Downhearted?—

THESE facts make news for you who would make peace:

Four-Power Pact.—Arrival of French Ministers in London this week, allied to report that "Mr. Chamberlain proposes to resume negotiations with Germany if and when the French-Italian talks materialize into an agreement" (*Reynolds News*, April 24) is evidence of drive to secure Four-Power Pact. These moves are giving rise to serious alarm in smaller States.

French-Italian Talks.—The talks referred to, which are now proceeding in Rome, are apparently "on much the same lines as those which led to the Anglo-Italian Agreement." (*The Times*, April 23.) Spain is the crucial issue.

National Unity in France.—Although hailed by *The Times* as "appeasement in Europe," these conversations seem to have little such effect. "Leading personalities in French public life still hope to see a National Government," reported *The Times*, April 21. M. Flandin, former Premier, charges these personalities, in the *Revue de Paris*, with wanting unity so as to make war.

National Unity in Britain.—According to the *Daily Telegraph*, April 14, the purpose of meetings to be addressed by Mr. Winston Churchill in the near future (in connexion with League of Nations Union and New Commonwealth), is "support of national rearmament" and "need for a united national effort."

Compulsory Physical Training.—Latest to suggest compulsory physical training and "national service" were Dr. Cyril Norwood and Lord Dawson of Penn on April 22. Subject is to be discussed at Liberal Summer School at Oxford in August. Meanwhile in Germany a decree issued last week made physical training compulsory, and in Austria another decree announced introduction of compulsory labour service after October 1.

"Before it is Too Late."—Other evidence, at home, of authorities' hurry to prepare for war was the revelation, on Budget Day, of existence of secret food stocks, Home Secretary's demand for ARP volunteers "by the end of the summer" (referred to elsewhere), and recruiting posters urging "Men of Middlesex" to "act before it is too late—join the Territorials NOW."

—We Say No!

Despite this increasing evidence of preparations for war, we are living, as George Lansbury pointed out at Sheffield (reported above), in a world of opportunity for building peace. How to take that opportunity was indicated by the resolutions adopted at Sheffield.

(Continued from page 1, col. 4)

PRECAUTIONS SCHEMES, IS UNCONNECTED WITH THE MILITARY MACHINE HAS NOW BEEN STRIPPED AWAY.

The "London Letter" in the Birmingham Post of April 20 admitted that

The air raid precaution schemes are counted an essential part of national defence. Anybody enlisted in them will be regarded as doing his bit, and free, without discredit to himself, from all other military obligations.

This is a carefully calculated decision, taken, not by the Home Office alone, but by the Government, with due thought to the man-power problem in the event of war.

Last week's K-H News-Letter, published by Commander Stephen King-Hall (prospective National Labour candidate for Ormskirk and doubtless well in touch with Government circles) contained a supplement on "The Defence of the Realm" which provided a good example of insidious semi-official propaganda. (This was borne out by the fact that if subscribers "would like to distribute the two documents to your friends, or to your employees if you direct a business," special rates were quoted for quantities, "as an exceptional measure.")

Although ARP have been described as defensive and voluntary, Commander King-Hall would "insist" on rehearsals. He says the civilian population "must" get accustomed to air defence manoeuvres and tests on the large scale.

The whole supplement stresses the need for "moral rearmament." Commander King-Hall also "holds strongly that an excellent psychological effect at home and abroad would be created by a voluntary register for war service," although similar measures by Germany and Italy do not seem to have produced such an excellent psychological effect upon himself.

Authorities Discuss P.P.U. Activity

THE Chief Constable of Penzance, who asked the Home Office whether an anti-ARP leaflet distributed by the Peace Pledge Union constituted a "public mischief," was interviewed on the subject last Friday by Nigel Spottiswoode, author of the leaflet in question. Mr. Spottiswoode writes:

"The chief constable merely said that he had sent the leaflets (together with some others) to the Home Office with his own opinion of their legality.

"I asked him under what Act he thought

it would be possible to prosecute and he said 'the Air Raid Precautions Act.'

"His opinion was that the Act made it compulsory for local authorities to take certain measures, and that the object of the leaflet was to discourage citizens from co-operating with those measures. But, as I pointed out to him, the Act does not make it compulsory for any individual to take any particular action.

"He added that he had discussed the pamphlet and other activities of the PPU with other chief constables and with the Home Office, but he naturally would not say what they had decided."

On Saturday the chief constable was a member of the audience at a very successful mass meeting held by the Penzance PPU group. Speakers were Stuart Morris, Donald Soper and Nigel Spottiswoode, with H. Pearce Jenkin, of Redruth, in the chair.

The audience listened with interest and sympathy and, so far as one could judge, with considerable agreement.

THOUSANDS STILL NEEDED

Another chief constable, this time in Plymouth, revealed on Thursday of last week how badly the authorities need volunteers. Outlining ARP plans for Plymouth to the local chamber of commerce, he said that of 5,000 warden needed only 337 had been enrolled, while only 250 special constables (instead of 1,000) had come forward, and 173 out of 600 firemen.

In the London district things are just as bad. Of the 6,000 volunteers required for Islington, only 600 have come forward, despite the display of 1,000 posters and the extensive use of libraries, shops, cinemas, public baths, etc., as recruiting depots.

A similar response met the efforts of an anti-aircraft battalion in Charlton where, despite a large crowd at an open-air recruiting meeting, only two recruits were obtained.

People are worried by the lack of protection provided by ARP schemes against high explosive bombs. Pacifist groups are working to turn that widespread concern into a realization that ARP schemes are in any case part of military preparation for a war that a real peace policy could avoid.

SOLDIERS TOOK PACIFIST LEAFLETS

On Saturday a poster parade held by the Peace Pledge Union covered three miles of Hackney's busiest thoroughfares. Nearly 3,000 leaflets were distributed. It is felt that the PPU has at last been put on the map in the borough.

Members of the PPU were also busy at a recruiting demonstration at Newcastle on Monday. There was a poster parade and leaflets were distributed to the crowd, which seemed interested.

Several soldiers asked for leaflets, and an officer took half-a-dozen of the PPU Manifesto and walked away reading the seditious literature with apparent interest.

Public Affairs

Air Raid Precautions

ON Monday the Home Secretary held a conference with local authorities urging them to assist in the speeding up of ARP measures.

Sir Samuel Hoare stated that he had two main objectives—the enrolment of a million volunteers by the end of the summer and the comprehensive organization of ARP for all important areas by the end of the year.

What "the comprehensive organization of ARP" means is still obscure. At long last the Home Secretary has become officially aware of the dangers of high explosive bombs, but the only protection he suggests is "dispersion."

Military Needs Come First

IF anyone is still in doubt as to the essentially military nature of ARP, his doubts should be cleared up by the leader in Tuesday's Times.

Speaking of the policy of evacuation, The Times says:

Nobody would question the wisdom of transporting out of harm's way, so far as possible, people who can make little or no contribution to the national effort in an emergency. But factories cannot be deprived of their workers, nor those workers of their families. The transport system of the country, so essential for military purposes, cannot be disorganized for civilian requirements; and it is essential to distinguish between evacuation of a kind which would represent a wise precaution, and evacuation of a kind which would admit defeat. The work of the country must be kept going largely where it is now being done.

There was a time when the soldier's work was to protect and defend the civilians of his country, but war has become so mechanized that the armed forces now include the whole population, and there is nothing left to protect except that mysterious abstraction known as British Interests.

Daladier's Eight Points

DALADIER'S eight points for economic reconstruction, to be effected by decree laws, are surprisingly similar to the usual fascist formula for bolstering up a decaying capitalism and putting it on an efficient war basis.

A "moderate" increase in taxation which will "not check production," and is, therefore, aimed presumably at the poorer classes, a readjustment of labour arrangements so as to increase output, the development of credit facilities to stimulate industry and trade, and a programme of public works with emphasis for propaganda purposes on slum clearance. Even more significant is the fact that the programme will be carried out within the framework of the Tripartite Agreement.

Last Friday the franc began to slip and by Saturday it had fallen to 167 to the pound without any apparent opposition from the Exchange Control. On Monday, however, the Control came into operation and brought the franc back to 160.5.

This sudden action on the part of the Control was a result of a hint from the British Treasury that any further fall would give France "unreasonably competitive exchange advantage" which the Tripartite Agreement is designed to prevent. M. Daladier and M. Bonnet arrive in London on Wednesday.

Toward National Unity

IT is clear that the Daladier fort is a step in the direction of the government of National Union, which must ultimately come if France is to become a military power comparable with Germany.

In view of the increasing influence of M. Paul Reynaud, it is interesting to recall some of the points which he made in a speech to the Société des Conférences in Paris in February of this year. After considering the foreign policies of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and admitting that their grievances arose out of their inequality with the democracies, M. Reynaud went on to an analysis of France's military position.

Its fundamental weakness, he stated, was due to the fact that its military machine was still organized on the 1927

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basis, when it was considered that the purpose of military strategy was purely defensive.

Since those days, as M. Reynaud pointed out, the increasing mechanization has made it necessary to develop a strong offensive arm.

Modern war is won by the striking power of the bomber rather than by the defensive power of the Maginot line.

The Budget

A BUDGET of increased taxation is usually the sign of a government which considers itself safe for at least another year. The policy of paying for rearmament by taxation has the advantage of allowing for a greater borrowing capacity in the two following years, when defence expenditure will be even higher.

It also brings home to the people of the country the fact that our rearmament programme is virtually on a war basis. Any disadvantage which this may have is probably outweighed by the fact that the budget is good war-scare propaganda.

The opposition parties, admitting the necessity of rearmament, have no solid grounds for criticism of the measures. The people of the country are becoming so terrified of aggression from abroad that they are accepting with diminishing resistance the increasing cost of living and loss of liberty which the militarization of the country necessitates.

This is not the willing sacrifice of those who are actuated by their sense of right, but the grudging acquiescence of people in whom fear is the dominant motive.

(The budget is analysed on page fifteen.)

Italy's Next Goal

RULERS of fascist States find it necessary always to have a clearly defined objective for their nation to attain. It is not surprising, therefore, that Italy, which is well on the way to her present goal of self-sufficiency—so far as that is possible—should need a new objective.

Mussolini seems to have found it in the development of his empire. In a speech on the fascist equivalent of Labour Day (April 21), he said:

The Romans of the First Empire were not only invincible soldiers and incomparable legislators. They were also formidable builders, as their roads, bridges, aqueducts, baths, and basilicas, the remains of which are spread over three continents, eloquently show. The Second Roman Empire, protected by our arms, must also be an Empire of peaceful labour.

Thus will fascism have a new world to conquer.

Colonizing Libya

A DEVELOPMENT in the direction indicated by Mussolini took place on Saturday, when the Italian Cabinet decreed that 1,800 more small farmers and their families should be settled in Libya by the end of October.

Colonization of Libya has so far been a rather slow business; 477 families (about 3,000 people) have been settled on 35,000 acres of land by the Colonization Board. The Tobacco Syndicate and the Institute for Social Welfare between them employ another 400 families.

The new development, therefore, should more than treble the Italian population of Libya in about six months.

Sudeten Germans

NATIONAL-Socialist circles in Germany are saying that the German Government expects to have settled by the autumn the problem of the Germans in Czechoslovakia, and the German press has been warning Prague that the demands put forward by Herr Henlein are a matter of urgency.

Meanwhile, although these demands have been rejected by the Czech Cabinet, M. Hodza, the Premier, is to offer to open negotiations with the Henlein Party on modified terms.

(Herr Henlein's demands are given on page fifteen.)

Rudolf Steiner

THERE are few more fascinating and profitable studies than an investigation into the higher powers and faculties latent in man.

The name of Rudolf Steiner is well known in this field, his books and lectures on the subject having made him one of the most outstanding figures of the century.

Founder of the famous School of Spiritual Science at Dornach, Switzerland, he made investigation into spiritual affairs his life work, always applying the results of his research to human activities.

To facilitate study of his work—which is quite unique in its field—a circulating library is maintained at 12 Bedford Sq., London, W.C.1.

All English translations of Rudolf Steiner's works are published by

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Holland

THEY REVEALED FACTS THAT THE PRESS HAD TRIED TO HIDE

From Our Own Correspondent.

RIJSWIJK.

THE exhibition organized by the Brotherhood Federation, at which the local Women's International League had a stand, is over. On one side of the stand the Dutch peace movement had a selection of posters and literature while on the other some other European peace movements shared a partition and table space.

Luckily it was possible to decorate an empty wall with the best posters and pictures.

In the interests of tolerance we put up with League of Nations Union and New Commonwealth material, &c., and had to do without the very interesting posters, pamphlets, &c., sent by the Belgian Roman Catholic Youth Peace Action (which has sections in Holland and England).

This was because the priests of the Dutch Roman Catholic Peace League vetoed this very active rival peace movement, which has not the approval of the bishop.

Such things can happen in Holland—but that is another story.

WHAT THE PRESS DOESN'T TELL

Each visitor received a leaflet giving a short summary of the peace show. The stand had quite a good position near the entrance.

It was necessary to catch people as they entered the exhibition, for a score of stands and all shades of humanitarian societies exhausted interest to a point that, when passing the peace stand at the end of their tour of the exhibition, many could not make the effort of even looking at the display.

When it was my turn to talk to visitors, I always began by saying that I would like to show them some things their daily paper, the films, and the wireless never mentioned; that there existed another France, another Switzerland—even another Germany and Italy, however dumb they are just now.

"Perhaps," I then said, "you don't know that in England, for instance, there is a Peace Pledge Union . . ." and so on.

AS OTHERS SEE US

On the final evening I was interrupted by a young Dutch girl who said, "But of course I know—I have just come back from England. If you are not a pacifist in England you are considered a cannibal!"

Then she plunged into the literature, read a lot, took some free copies, bought some others, and left me speechless with admiration for such a country!

Gratitude is felt by the organizers toward those who provided interesting material from France, Denmark, Norway and Switzerland—and above all to their English comrades, who were so much in evidence: the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Society of Friends, War Resisters' International, Women's Cooperative Guild, and last, but not least, the Peace Pledge Union.

Canada

Test of Citizenship

A Bill before the Canadian Parliament proposes granting to Doukhobors the right to vote in federal elections.

In British Columbia, however, where the Doukhobors live, they are unlikely to be given the same right in provincial elections. Mr. Pattullo, Premier of British Columbia, said recently that there were 12,000 Doukhobors "holding extreme views" in the province.

He added: We could not possibly give them citizenship. They will not go to war and they will not fight. I do not think they have any right to enjoy Canadian citizenship at all.

(The Doukhobors are a Russian Christian-communist sect which emigrated to Canada in 1899.)

India

NON-VIOLENT ARMY COULD QUELL RIOTS

Mr. Gandhi on Need for Bravery

A FURTHER statement by Mr. Gandhi on the apparent failure of the Congress movement in India to prove itself a worthy substitute for British rule gives still less cause for those who support that rule to quote the movement's own founder against it.

Explaining to two of his fellow workers why he could not help writing the article from which we gave extracts in our April 16 issue, he showed clearly that, so far from needing to emulate the British in order to be fit to replace them, the Congress Governments must be even more faithful than before to the policy of non-violence.

And, incidentally, he showed once more that non-violence calls for at least as much bravery as the soldier displays.

"You cannot pit against organized violence the non-violence of the weak, but the non-violence which the bravest alone can exercise," he said, reports Harijan.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN

"We have, you will say, been sufficiently non-violent. We were non-violent during the civil disobedience campaign, we received lathi blows and worse.

"My reply is this: We did, but not sufficiently. We could not get independence at the end of the Dandi march, as ours was not the unadulterated non-violence of the bravest. We did take many a step forward as a result of the sufferings we went through, but there was lurking in us violence.

"That was why I had to make that statement in Patna in 1934, and I am sure that if I had not advised the calling off of the civil disobedience campaign, we should have been thoroughly demoralized.

"We have been moving, since then, further forward step by step. But the time for searching self-examination has come."

NON-VIOLENT ARMY

In a speech delivered a few days earlier, Mr. Gandhi had indicated that if the non-violence of Congress was a weapon of the strong, "We should be able to deal with riots and stop the increasing tension between Hindus and Mussalmans.

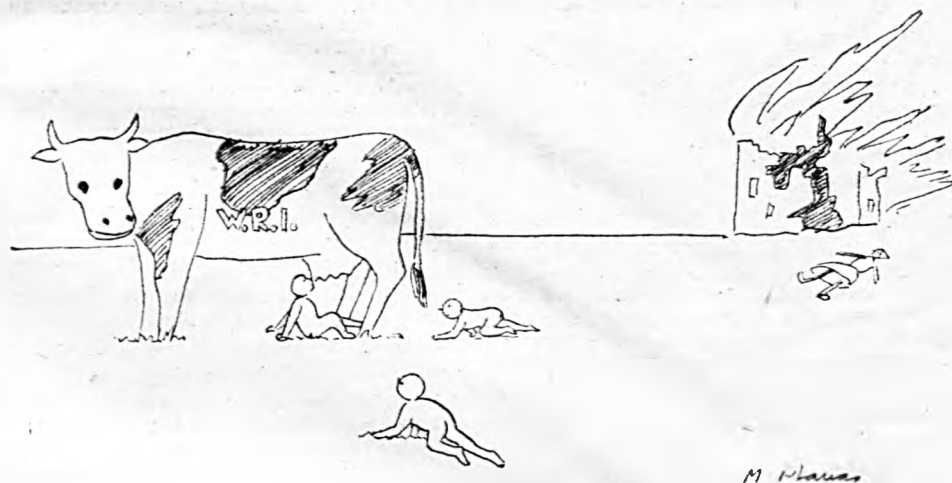
"We should have thousands of volunteers ready to serve in a crisis of this kind. In 1921 we drew up a pledge for volunteers, wherein it was provided that a volunteer should be non-violent in thought, word, and deed.

"We have not troubled, we have not laboured, to organize such a non-violent volunteer army. If we cannot do so, if we cannot carry out the pledge, it would be well to reconsider our position. The tragedy is that the pledge is still in existence but it exists on paper.

"If we had on a sufficient scale such a non-violent army as the pledge contemplates, we should not have had these riots; and if there had been, they would have quelled the riots or immolated themselves in the attempt."

Peace Prize Candidates

Candidates for this year's Nobel Peace Prize include: Franklin D. Roosevelt, nominated by Cuba; Haile Selassie, nominated by the Swedish Parliament; Lindhagen, former Mayor of Stockholm and outstanding pacifist, nominated by the Swedish Parliament, and the Inter-parliamentary Union.



The Spanish relief work of the War Resisters' International includes the distribution of milk—as may be seen from this drawing by Miguel Planas, a thirteen-year-old Spanish boy in the home for child refugees which the WRI is running in the South of France.

U.S.A.

War Veterans Leave Former Leaders

NEW YORK

A NEW veterans group has recently been organized, known as the Council of US Veterans because the "reactionary leadership of the major veterans' organizations was presenting an ever-increasing menace to the cause of liberty, justice, and democracy."

Several well-known people and many liberal clergymen who saw service during the war are connected with it. The group is trying to bridge the gap between the American Legion and the peace movement.

—Nofrontier News Service.

Thousands Wear Peace Badge

From a Correspondent

Mr. Ashton B. Jones, the man who is touring the USA in his World Peace car, is now distributing buttons with the slogan, "War: We Say No," first popularized by the original badge of the Peace Pledge Union in England.

Already he has distributed about 5,000 of these buttons and hopes eventually to use more than 25,000.

France

BOMBS CAN'T TALK POLITICS

THE dangers of the formation of a national front for war purposes, due to the militaristic attitude of Socialist leaders, are pointed out in an article published in the pacifist newspaper, *La Patrie Humaine*, on the eve of the annual congress, at Arras, of the LICP (International League of Fighters for Peace).

The writer, Maurice Weber, who has been serving on the directing committee of the LICP, also insists on the need for basing propaganda on "out-and-out" pacifism.

Some have claimed, he says, to draw distinctions between civil war and foreign war, imperialist and revolutionary war, and so on. In reply he declares: When explosives destroy human lives, the material or geographical origin of the projectiles, the political tendency or ideology of those who fired them has only a very secondary importance.

WHEN YOU GET A RISE

—and there still are people who do—you have to be very careful if your expenditure is not to grow correspondingly and cancel out the increase. The proper way to treat a rise is to put at least half of it, each time it comes, in St. Pancras Building Society, where, instead of vanishing, it will grow.

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NEWS FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

EAST

At the first meeting of the Norfolk Regional Committee held at Norwich, arrangements were made to get groups together in eight or nine places. Members of the Norwich group are making a point of selling PEACE NEWS outside as many public meetings as possible. Two members recently had letters printed in the *Eastern Daily Press* on the conscription issue.

HOME COUNTIES

Barnet signatories sell PEACE NEWS every Saturday. Copies not sold are posted to fellow signatories who do not yet buy it. Barnet are also fortunate in having a secretary who is able to instruct members in first aid training along the lines of the St. John Ambulance Brigade.

Members in the Uxbridge region have already made their first move in the Manifesto Campaign. They have succeeded in getting the Manifesto published in its entirety in the *Middlesex Advertiser* and *Uxbridge Gazette*. What is more, two members had letters printed in the same issue. They are now busy on a scheme for bringing the Manifesto to the notice of the whole population of the Uxbridge Parliamentary Division.

The Wembley group is making itself responsible for organizing a distribution of literature and sale of PEACE NEWS at the Cup Final today. A minimum number of 45 people is wanted to cover the various points and anyone still able to go would be welcomed at the Brotherhood Hall, High Road, Wembley, at 3.30 p.m. During this week literature has been distributed outside the Odeon Cinema at Sudbury and Kingsbury where a Territorial Recruiting Campaign has been in progress.

NORTH

Bertrand Russell will speak in the City Hall, Sheffield, on May 15. When he spoke in the Library recently all tickets for that meeting were snapped up within half-an-hour, and most of the two thousand applicants were disappointed. This time, with a bigger hall, they are looking forward to an even more successful meeting.

On Sunday, May 8, Rotherham and Sheffield groups have decided to invade Derbyshire for the day. This is one of several rambles which it is hoped to organize during the coming summer.

A week-end school organized by the South Yorkshire and North East Derbyshire Regional Area Council will be held at the Adult School Guest House, High

Flatts (between Penistone and Huddersfield) on May 21 and 22, when J. Allen Skinner, a former chairman of the No More War Movement, will be the lecturer.

NORTH-WEST

The first area meeting for representatives of all groups in Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Derbyshire, is being held in the Friends Meeting House, Manchester, today. The meeting has been divided into two sessions. The first at 3 p.m., will be addressed by John Barclay, while the evening session will be devoted to discussion. May 17 is another date for Manchester readers to bear in mind. The local PPU groups are cooperating with the Society of Friends in arranging a public meeting to be held in the Friends' Meeting House. Dr. Alfred Salter will speak on the Van Zeeland Report.

From Swinton comes news of arrangements for a PEACE NEWS selling campaign. They are already selling 35 copies per week. Each week members duplicate thirty "Points for Speakers," and send them to councillors, teachers, and clergy. They sent all councillors a copy each of Lord Arnold's speech.

NORTHERN IRELAND

It has been decided to form a second group in Belfast. This is not because one group has become too large and unwieldy, but because it is felt that by dividing more responsibility is placed on a greater number of people. The groups will meet on alternate weeks and on different nights and will meet together once every two months to discuss policy. Meanwhile members in Belfast have been very active and they look forward to a full programme which includes visiting all their signatories; the inauguration of regular PEACE NEWS sales, efforts to get the Manifesto into certain institutions; public meetings; and it is hoped that a conference with the All-Ireland Anti-War Crusade will soon be possible.

SCOTLAND

Several new members were gained as a result of the first public meetings organized by the Buckhaven and Methil District group. The speakers were Mrs. Sybil White, Andrew Stewart, and Mr. Sowerbutt, of Dundee.

In Rutherglen members are divided in opinion, so they have decided to study Gregg's *Power of Non-Violence*.

King's Park Hall has been booked by the King's Park and Croftfoot group for a district pre-rectorial public meeting in October.

The group in the S.2 and C.5 districts of Glasgow is growing at a startling rate, and it is hoped to hammer out a method of working by the autumn.

When Mr. Maclean (ex-Hong Kong) visited a meeting organized by the Clarkston and Giffnock group he proved a target for questions. He did get a few stingers!

SOUTH

The Andover group, which is nothing if not thorough, recently distributed about three thousand handbills from door-to-door. As a direct result they received seven new signatories. These people were visited and the full significance of the pledge was explained to them before their names were sent to headquarters. Two were withdrawn, but the others will no doubt prove useful members. Members have followed up the meeting by addressing selected pamphlets to each householders in one street, followed by a personal visit. Visiting has only just begun, but so far has proved well worth while.

Fifteen members from four groups in the Hampshire PPU region staged an effective counter-demonstration in Portsmouth at the recent big Hampshire Coast black-out. They took part in a poster parade, during which hundreds of leaflets were distributed. Several groups in this region are arranging public meetings, speakers being supplied from neighbouring groups. This is an excellent way of fostering cooperation in the region, as well as giving opportunities

of breaking the ice on a public platform in preparation for the coming campaign.

The PEACE NEWS correspondent in Alton group, Mr. R. F. Hatt, one of the original members of the group, was married recently to Miss E. Maclean, who has been treasurer for the past six months. The good wishes not only of the Alton group, but of a much wider circle go out to them.

SOUTH-EAST

Signatories belonging to the Ashford group are scattered over a wide area and for some it is difficult to attend group meetings. Realizing this it has been decided to publish a monthly news sheet under the title *Ashford Group News*, the first issue of which appeared last month. It is hoped that it will provide a link to bind members closer together and at the same time keep all informed of the group's activities.

WALES

Cardiff possesses a somewhat small, but very enthusiastic band of peace workers. For months past they have been plodding quietly away. There are five groups, including one Welsh speaking group. Among their activities a house-to-house distribution of the PPU Manifesto and ARP leaflets has been arranged. Cardiff generally very much regretted the loss of Dr. C. E. M. Pugh, who has left the district; she was largely responsible for the present organization in Cardiff. Her place as organizing secretary has been taken by Mr. I. Lett, whose biggest achievement so far has been the opening of a peace stall in Cardiff Market. Already the stall is beginning to be looked upon as Cardiff headquarters, and has proved a valuable link between Cardiff and the Welsh valleys. Much interest has been taken in the stall by passers-by, who are handed peace pamphlets; so much so that many have suggested that the workers are paid! To dispel this idea a notice has been exhibited stating: "This stall is run by volunteers. What will you do for peace?"

WEST

In a recent public debate at Worcester PPU supporters gained an outstanding victory for their cause when, by 99 votes to 46, they defeated a motion moved by Dr. Donald Johnson (prospective Liberal candidate for the Bewdley division), and seconded by Captain A. J. R. Napier (Liberal Agent for the same division), "That this house approves the rearmament programme as a regrettable necessity in the present state of world affairs. The opposition was led by Nigel Spottiswoode, who was supported by Wilfrid Littleboy, of the Society of Friends.

"Outlaw War for ever"

— Naval Officer

Writing from China to the *Hull Daily Mail* last week, Naval Petty Officer Bulless said:

I never want to see such a sight in England. . . . If only people could realize the terrible havoc wrought by even a 25-lb. high explosive bomb they would make it their business to outlaw war for ever. It amounts to nothing less than mass murder.

These poor people have never harmed a fly and are quite content to live at peace in their fields, yet they must be slaughtered like sheep, by an invader, just to please the gods of war. And they call it culture and civilization!

War is Not Inevitable

Following the recent annual meeting of the Manchester and Salford branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the chairman, Canon Denis Fletcher, expressed the following two convictions "which those present held most strongly":—

1. We do not believe in the inevitability of war, and we therefore regret profoundly a great many speeches which are being made and actions taken which give that impression of inevitability to large numbers of people.

2. We feel it the duty of all peace-lovers to press on the Government the duty of implementing the Van Zeeland Report with all possible speed.

Group Notes

IMPORTANCE OF PEACE CENTRES

By JOHN BARCLAY

SATURDAY, April 23, will always stand as one of the days to be remembered in my mind, to be added to that growing list of milestones marking the progress of the PPU. On that day I attended the opening of the Dick Sheppard Centre, at 52a, Queensway, Bayswater.

You will easily find it by the sign which hangs over the door, a sign executed by Eric Gill, which stands out clearly as you go down the road from Hyde Park. Two or three months ago the basement housed a night club of somewhat shady character, so shady, in fact, that it was frequently raided by the police and finally closed down.

About the same time, Miss Dighton, the group leader of the W.2 group, was forced to give up her flat close by owing to her habit of holding pacifist meetings in it.

Looking out for suitable accommodation, she came across number 52a and, finding a flat above and a basement beneath, decided it was obviously the place to alight. Backed up by the unanimous support of her group, she negotiated, and obtained the lease.

In six weeks they had transformed the former night club into the present delightful centre. Last Saturday afternoon at 3 o'clock, sixty to seventy of us met to celebrate the official opening.

How Dick would have gloried in the transformation scene. "Night Club to Pacifist Centre," with the walls still showing signs of its former occupation—crayon drawings of "vamps" and "dark women," beautifully coloured by a genius, and a large size beer bottle about four feet high stands as a monument of past glories.

There will be plenty of room for meetings, debates, dramatic performances in miniature, and later a book shop above to make it one of the first and one of the most inspiring of the many other such places which will now spring up all over the country.

During the afternoon we released simultaneously nearly 100 coloured balloons carrying a card giving the address of the centre and clearly marked with the words of the pledge. These were last seen 200 feet high in mass formation going due south over Hyde Park.

There is a great need for such centres, and if every group can aim at getting one going before the summer is over, we should have ready training centres which will be so vitally necessary to prepare the leaders of the new groups, as they are formed, to carry on the ever-increasing work of constructive peace-making.

I know I am always urging permeation and propaganda, but I believe that our strength rests in the power of the individual member to resist violence by non-violent resistance, and this power comes from training and study in small groups.

Beside all this work is the burning faith that in the philosophy of pacifism lies the only hope of world peace, and I suppose it is here that we miss Dick Sheppard most. He always inspired when inspiration was most needed, and by his constant understanding one was able to re-inspire others.

Only by retaining his buoyancy and courage will the PPU succeed in reaching the mass of people waiting for a lead. Political parties can give direction, fellowships and churches can give strength, but it is by the determination and will power of each one of us that victory will be won.

P.P.U. ANNUAL MEETING

The name of the Hampstead group was omitted from our recent list of the groups represented at the first annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union. The Hampstead group was, in fact, represented by three delegates.

The Hull group, which we also omitted, was represented too.

Members write on

A World Conference

In the April 9 number of PEACE NEWS a communication appeared from Mrs. Florence Burn. I should like to give support to her suggestion that the PPU organize a peace ballot, on the lines put forward by her.

An alternative suggestion is a petition to the Government, embracing the contents of the Van Zeeland Report, and demanding that further measures of international economic reconstruction and adjustment be taken through a World Conference convened for that purpose; America and Great Britain to take the lead in facilitating such a conference.

If such a scheme were put into operation it would mean that every individual pacifist would have to sacrifice all his or her spare time and energy for a few months at least, and, in addition, it would be desirable to obtain the Cooperation of other bodies, political and non-political, in order to facilitate matters still further.

PATRICIA M. SUIR.

"Meadows," 15 College Road, Maidenhead.

A.R.P.

I have just learnt that my services as a member of the Cyclists Touring Club have been offered for air raid precaution work.

I would be very grateful to you if you could allow me space to get into touch with other PPU, CTC members.

FRANK GREGORY.

41 Oakthwaite Road, Windermere.

R. H. WARD writes

PACIFISM in England is too easy and too safe. In other European countries it is different; war-resistance in peace-time is punishable. But here we can sign our pledges with impunity, and impunity is a soft and negative condition in which nothing as revolutionary as pacifism can fully grow.

Numerically, our numbers increase, the circles of our propaganda widen, but it is pacifism itself, the spirit of the thing, not the written or spoken word, that is of real importance.

Pacifism is a certain way of thinking and behaving, but we are so constituted that we cannot act until we have something to act against; it's too easy and we can't be bothered. In this country the law gives pacifists nothing to bite on. The best turn the Government could do pacifism would be to make it illegal; unfortunately, the Government is well aware of this.

You may say that the freedoms enjoyed by British people are precisely the opportunity we need. The opportunity to sign pledges, hold public meetings and sell **PEACE NEWS**; yes; but we are talking about vital and positive pacifism, not about saying no to a war that has not yet started.

It is easy to think that outward and visible signs of pacifism (wearing a badge, for instance) are guarantees of pacifism within, of an attitude of mind and a way of life which would make it impossible for the individual pacifist to behave aggressively or selfishly either now or in time of war.

An indulgent Government allows us to deceive and indulge ourselves in this way. A less indulgent one would not; danger would reveal men of true mettle, as the danger of war has often done in the past.

Pacifists with a spark of life in them must find danger to react to; only in danger can that spark become a flame,

and only when it is a flame will others catch light from it. One man living pacifism is of more propaganda value than fifty platform orators spouting it.

If pacifism could be made dangerous, the need for danger in those who are not yet pacifists (and it is this need which makes war interesting to human beings) would draw them to it inevitably. If we were given a chance to defy dull obedience and conformity, and, best of all, to defy the law, we should soon have a crop of pacifists too large for the law to deal with. It has always been so; the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church.

But there is no law to defy. We are quite at liberty to write and speak, argue and persuade, and, to reverse the epigram, leave living to the Master.

Nor do we want the Government to crush pacifism, for we do not want totalitarianism, and we know that we cannot use the bad means of inciting the Government to fascism for the good end of vitalizing pacifism. How, therefore, are we to encounter danger?

Not, clearly, by being stupidly daring about crossing the street, or by rushing into the next fascist-communist clash in Piccadilly Circus: these thrust danger on other lives than our own.

But there is risk and adventure, deliberate and beneficial to others, in chucking up your safe job and going to work in the slums or with the IVSP or the Friends Service Council. There is considerable insecurity in staying in your safe job but trying to live like a Christian.

It is not really very difficult to find danger; it is at the heart of all our decisions if we only see it: one road is safe and useless, the other dangerous and constructive.

But there is one particular way in which pacifists can learn pacifism by voluntarily encountering danger as deli-

berately as does the volunteer soldier, and that is by learning active non-violent resistance; and this means more than a weekly meeting to "discuss" *The Power of Non-Violence*.

There are, as Gregg points out, useful things that the trained non-violent resister can do which are dangerous and illegal. It is certain that the pacifist will not bring about revolution until he is able to use the weapon which makes him not only a revolutionary but different from all other revolutionaries, the weapon of his own body offered for the peace and freedom of the world and trained to face if necessary the danger of death.

PLAYS HAVE A WIDE APPEAL

The new Southgate Pax Players (members of New Southgate PPU group) last Saturday performed three one-act plays. It was an interesting attempt to attract those who would not ordinarily attend a public meeting.

In the first play, *Aftermath*, by Hedley Quant, a good standard of acting was attained and the scene in which Alison (Margaret Dale) tells Dr. Crane (Humphrey S. Moore) of the tragedy of her lover, taken from her by the Great War, was particularly effective.

The Last Rib, by Cyril Roberts, was thrilling, though it somewhat taxed the imagination.

The last play, *And so to War*, a farce, by Joe Corrie, was very entertaining even if the players had to dodge about a bit to avoid being trampled upon by Ben Bolt!

The work of stage-manager, prompter and producer was admirably carried out by Mrs. J. Sherwood, who deserves special mention.

Madame Elsie Wood and some of her junior pupils gave several delightful musical items.

R. G.

The Notice Board

Peckham Group are organizing a day's hike in Kent on May 8. Opportunity will be given those who wish to attend an evening service. Details from Doris Cooper, 1 Danby Street, S.E.15.

Morecambe requires more volunteers to start another street stand for selling **PEACE NEWS**. Also poster paraders. Write, F. Hellowell, Hatlex Drive, Hest Bank, Lancaster.

Volunteers required for poster parades every Saturday at 6.45 p.m. and the second Thursday of each month at 7 p.m., from 96 Regent Street.

Ealing group would welcome volunteers for poster parades on May 7 at 3 p.m. and 7 p.m., to advertise meeting. Meet at Friends' Room, 49 Uxbridge Road, opposite Town Hall.

Wanted—members to sell **PEACE NEWS** outside Roxy Cinema, Blackheath, on Saturdays from 7 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Blackheath and Charlton group are holding a **Jumble Sale** on May 21 to raise funds for propaganda. Anyone having "white elephants" they wish to get rid of please inform Miss E. V. Wakeman, 77 Lansdowne Road, S.E.7, and collection will be arranged.

Names of members able to help in distributing leaflets, &c., during recruiting week, May 2 to 7, held in Enfield, Palmers Green, Wood Green and Tottenham by the Territorial Army, would be welcomed by H. F. Moore, 11 Norman Way, N.14.

Glasgow—Wanted, urgently, enthusiastic member to organize street-selling of **PEACE NEWS**. Also names of volunteers to go on a rota of sellers for minimizing the amount of labour per volunteer—also poster-paraders. Write, Henry A. Barter, 181 Pitt Street, Glasgow, C.2.

Contributions toward Lambeth Library's copies of **PEACE NEWS** would be greatly appreciated from any group in this Borough. Send to R. A. Hembry, 124 St. Louis Road, S.E.27.

Two Basque children at Basque House are still unadopted. Would anyone like to adopt one?

Parents of young student from Paris desire to offer exchange hospitality to an English boy or girl of same age (thirteen or fourteen) in July and August. Visit to England desired to perfect knowledge of language. French family can be highly recommended.—Communicate with War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Volunteers are wanted to sell PEACE NEWS in Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 23 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

West Norwood group will meet on the second and fourth Tuesdays of the month in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall—adjacent to West Norwood tram terminus.

Kettering group now meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. in the Toller Lecture Room, Meeting Lane, Kettering.

PPU meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., in Beacon Café, Hanworth Road, Hounslow (near Congregational Church).

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION 96, REGENT STREET. LONDON. W.1

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Holiday Embassies of Youth

By
H. GRANVILLE HAWKES

The approach of the holiday season has seen a renewal of the campaign for holidays with pay for all, while at the same time longer holidays are being urged.

If these aims can be achieved it will mean that more people will have time and money to see something of other countries during their holidays. (A recent BBC speaker actually appealed for the granting of three-week holidays to enable more people to travel abroad.)

This article shows how the popularity of tramping holidays on the Continent is spreading among young people, and how foundations for peace can be laid by the contacts thus made.

NINE years ago, a Leeds man, dissatisfied with the kind of holidays which English people commonly take, bethought himself of a new plan.

With some friends among whom he discussed it, he set out for a tramp down the Rhine.

His idea was to enable people like himself to go into lands other than their own and thereby to make intimate contacts with the individuals who constitute the peoples of the world. He thought that international understanding would be helped by the insight that such holidays would bring.

In his mind passed the thought that the youth of the world might build a more lasting peace by such informal embassies.

As a member of a university, he was aware that the principle of his idea was not new. It was just the way he had thought of to make foreign travel such a potent factor in good will that made all the difference. The "Grand Tour" for the sons of the rich, which had become a feature of education and culture from the time of the seventeenth century, generally meant nothing to the middle and working classes, save those who served the fortunate.

BY rubbing shoulders in youth hostels and inns with Germans, our Leeds friend and his party became convinced that their method provided even those with moderate means with a simple plan of getting first hand impressions of the problems which confront Europe today.

At the same time, from the warmth of their welcome everywhere and the desire of their hosts to make them completely at home, these men came back refreshed by a complete change of scene. Certainly by firesides abroad and in England such meetings must have been looked back upon with strange reflections. Could we ever fight and murder such people?

Looking back on those days, the would-be holiday-maker will ask, no doubt, how the idea has been developed and fulfilled.

In 1937, International Tramping Tours (the organization born of this Leeds man's idea) was responsible for forging many thousands of links by the people who took part in the tours. This number formed the personnel of no fewer than seven tours in the British Isles and 56 in Europe.

(Lest the fact that ITT tours in the British Isles should have led readers to wonder whether the promoters were being true to their ideals in running them, it must be emphasized that if there is a need for English people to go abroad, conversely there is an equal need for foreigners to learn to know "perfidious Albion".)

Hitler's problems, achievements, and failures can be glimpsed at first hand by means of the 1938 tramps in Germany (Rhine and Moselle, Black Forest, Thuringia, &c.). The questions of Alsace and Lorraine, which are so vital to the difficult question of Franco-German relations, can best be realized by a holiday in the old world of the Vosges mountains. In the tramps across the Tyrol, the bone of contention between Mussolini and Hitler may be felt.

SCANDINAVIA'S social and broadminded international out-



LUNCH IN THE MOUNTAINS

look can also be realized on the holidays which ITT offer in those countries.

In this connexion, the International Folk High School at Elsinore, Denmark, comes readily to mind.

The level-headedness which comes from detachment from grave racial or economic difficulties is exercised most, perhaps, by these small nations at Geneva. This seat of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office forms a high spot in the tour to the Savoy Alps.

Switzerland, which gave Geneva to the world as it were, by reason of its central position, history, and the languages of its people, in itself is of as much interest to the internationalist as to the mountaineer. For both classes, the Swiss tours may be said to provide cheap and ready fare.

As showing the need for tours as much as their simple nature (and in some cases, pioneer character) reference should be made to newly inaugurated ventures to Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Rumania.

Those who went on last year's trip to Rumania, for example, report that in places they were the only English people ever seen by the inhabitants!

Obviously, only pilgrims like the ITT could have had such an experience. Elsewhere the ubiquitous motor coach tours would have made foreign trippers a common place.

Mr. George Lansbury's visit last winter to the capitals of the Central European countries, serves as a reminder that in them and the Balkans are perhaps some of the most complex questions with which statesmen are confronted. By extending their field to these countries the ITT are providing progressive-minded people with new opportunities and a new conception of peace.

THERE is not space to describe the several delights of scenery, people, customs, language, and food which these tramping and cycling tours afford. For pictures of these joys, books and the tourist bureaux will amply provide.

To PEACE NEWS readers it cannot be too strongly emphasized that, wherever possible, tours are organized

in each country by the close cooperation of friendly nationals who in numbers of cases are pacifists and members of the War Resisters' International.

Although primarily an organization whose main object is to promote peace through international understanding, ITT provides experience of a recreative character for body as well as mind.

It has voluntarily stimulated interest in the work of the War Resisters' International and International Voluntary Service for Peace. This contribution to pacifist development is practical. By opening the eyes of the individual, war psychology is thus automatically and subtly dissolved.

In informal meal and picnic talk a Nazi officer can explain his faith to a socialist.

Young French officers joining parties learn for the first time that young men in England are free from the compulsion of joining an army. Young Englishmen, too, meet foreigners who have suffered imprisonment rather than conform to a law which outrages their moral being.

Thus minds, English and foreign, are set working.

BY means of local groups the organization has its own way of permanently stimulating the ideas which the tours arouse.

Apart from rambling, social gatherings, and singing, these bodies provide an informal forum for the discussion of world problems. The London group, for example, included among the subjects of its indoor meetings last winter, nights when the work of International Voluntary Service and the relationships of European nations were considered.

T. Edmund Harvey MP, a member of the Parliamentary Pacifist Committee, is President of International Tramping Tours, which has entered on its ninth year of existence. Those who feel from this article that the ITT offers a hope of extending their experiences of foreign affairs by pleasurable tours abroad, are invited to communicate with Margaret Hapgood, Honorary Secretary, Central Office, 6 Bainbrigge Road, Leeds, 6. They will find in the 1938 programme, which they will receive, details of 8-, 14-, and 21-day tramps and cycle runs abroad, at inclusive costs from £4 10s. to £21.

Drama

Shakespeare is Still Topical

Coriolanus. Old Vic.

THOUGH it was written nearly four centuries ago, this, as a spectator near me said is "terribly topical."

"Let us hope people will not be so stupid again," he added.

Coriolanus illustrates how violence begets violence and the danger of unscrupulous demagogues and unbridled rage.

Against a background of almost continual national warfare, a vicious circle of violence revolves, involving the principles of both class war and civil war, till checked at length by a mother's pleading. Far more apparent than the stupidity of the mob and its fear of war, is the importance of self-control and of using suitable means to achieve ideals. Even the violent expulsion of Coriolanus (under the pretext of defending the people's liberties), which seems momentarily justified, is seen in its stark foolishness when Coriolanus returns to sack Rome.

Just as the worst in Coriolanus always responds when appealed to, so too his mother's appeal to the best in him brings forth mercy and peace, even though he realizes he must suffer for his clemency, perhaps even with his life. Shakespeare's emphasis on the stupidity of violence is maintained right to the end, when Coriolanus's rage and lack of self-control lead to his death.

Despite poverty of scenery, the production is impressive—thanks to Laurence Olivier, as Coriolanus, Sybil Thorndike (Volumnia), Cecil Truener (Menenius), Vivienne Bennett (Virgilia), and William Devlin (Aufidius). Humour is amply provided by a brilliant performance by Cecil Truener and by the non-stop variety of head-gear. R. S. M.

New Pacifist Drama

Objection Sustained, a three-act pacifist drama by John L. Simmonds, will be produced for the first time on any stage by the Pax Players on May 26, in the Town Hall, East Ham.

The play contains a splendid character study of a pacifist from the time when he is a gay undergraduate, just beginning to face opposition to his ideals, to his appearance in a tribunal court, followed by prison and death in solitary confinement.

Tickets (reserved 2s., unreserved 6d. and 1s.), are obtainable from the Town Hall, East Ham, or from 26 Frinton Road, East Ham, London, E.6.

Disraeli Left Out

Nazi "culture" continues to flower in the most curious ways.

Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* was played in Germany without Peer Gynt's praise of the Jews. Handel's Old Testament oratorios were critically examined for their "Jewishness."

And now Laurence Housman's play, *Victoria Regina*, is being played without Disraeli. The scene between Queen Victoria and Lord Beaconsfield has been omitted "on racial grounds."

—Nofrontier News Service.

Twenty-one Years Ago

From the *New Crusader*, May 3, 1917.

"GIVE him a knock-out blow!" says the poster.

"Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the lord Jesus," says Paul, the suffering hero.

Can the two ideas be harmonized?

"Germany means to starve us out. There is only one answer," says Mr. Neville Chamberlain.

Unfortunately for the artistic truth of the poster, Germany is not a single, bullying monster. Germany means men, women, children, militarists, socialists, pacifists, humanitarians—and the British Empire—she is not one strong indignant man with a naked fist. She—what is she? She is men, women, little children—going down, down—Where is she going?

There is another answer, Mr. Chamberlain. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him!" No—that cannot be it—the voice is too far away: the idea is too "unpractical."

Let us get back to practical common-sense and Lord Devonport.

Speaking Personally

WOMEN AND THE PEACE PLEDGE

The Third Article

by

SUSAN MILES

I BELIEVE that wherever there is a feeling in men's minds that women have no business to speak to men as representatives of the PPU, there is always a lurking misapprehension as to the fundamental principles on which true pacifism is based.

Perhaps it will be questioned whether such a feeling among men is ever found. I believe it to be unusual, but that it exists is certain.

To give only one illustration: on the day Dick died the secretary of a men's society wrote to PPU headquarters cancelling a meeting on the ground that the speaker who was being sent was a woman. The writer of the letter was not meaning to be offensive. He wrote regretting that he had not made it clear that the audience was to have been masculine.

It seemed to him so obvious that a woman speaker would be unsuitable that he preferred to cancel the meeting rather than accept the only speaker whom headquarters happened to be able to send.

IT is useless, as well as wrong, to be indignant with those who take such a view. We in the PPU must learn to understand both ourselves and other people if we are going to be of any use.

My own belief, which has been put forward in earlier articles, is that it is possible for a pacifist to hold such a view only when he does not look into what underlies it. The view, in my opinion, implies a pacifism which would

J. Middleton Murry

will be the next writer under this heading. His series of three articles will begin

Next Week

be adequately represented by a pledge in the form: "I will not fight," whereas what I regard as true pacifism would not be adequately represented by such a pledge. The PPU pledge is of a different form, namely, "I renounce war."

Those who renounce war have no impulse to regard men as more important in a pacifist society than women. They do not set a value on a man merely in virtue of his being a fight-refusing animal. To set such a value upon him is an indirect way of setting a value upon his ability to fight.

True pacifism is just as relevant to women as to men: it concerns the freedom of the human will to withstand the tyranny of a dictatorship that would seek to force on it a code which is an outrage to it.

To renounce war is something quite other than to hide from war. It is ARP not PPU that spells ostrich. ARP in seeking sand in which to hide the head is concurring in the war from which it seeks to hide. PPU in rejecting war is able to reject the sand along with it. To sign the peace pledge is to proclaim oneself a human being able to look on this and that and to choose between them. "Son of man, stand upon thy feet."

IT will be seen that this way of regarding the relation of women to the peace pledge differs some-

what from the view often put forward.

My view emphasizes the need of women pacifists to sign the pledge primarily in virtue of their humanity; the other view stresses the need of women pacifists to sign in virtue of their womanhood.

I do not at all want to belittle the importance of the womanhood aspect of the question. There seems to me the strongest reason why women as women should be acutely aware of the outrage of war, which destroys, or injures so wantonly lives which have been

is, I believe, to give unconsciously, positive support to a view which is fundamentally incompatible with true pacifism.

★

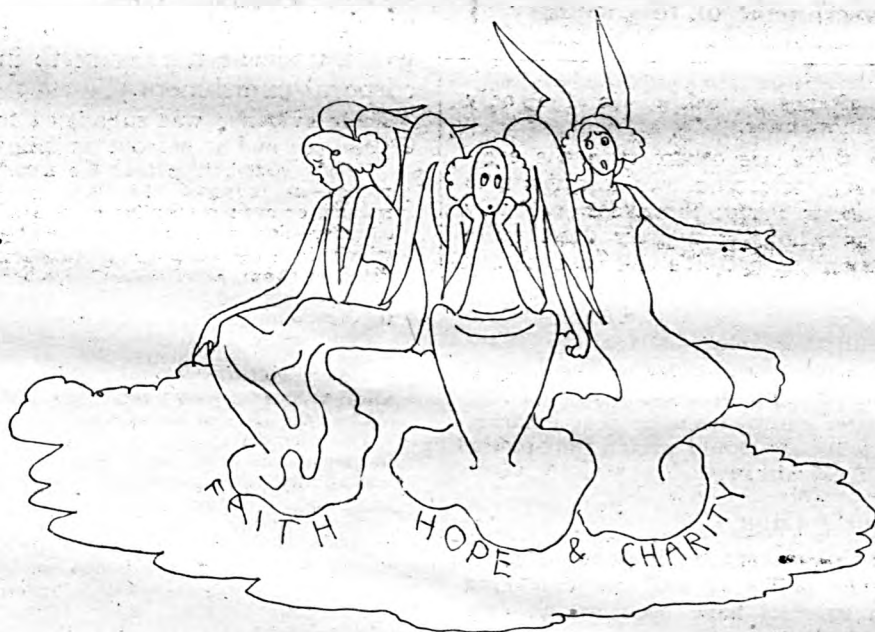
I DO not myself believe that the Church will come out courageously on the side of pacifism so long as churchpeople continue to acquiesce in the exclusion of women from the ministry.

I do not mean that I think women ministers would necessarily convert the Church to pacifism. The question is much subtler than that. What I do want to suggest is that militarism and antagonism to the ministry of women have a deep-rooted connexion.

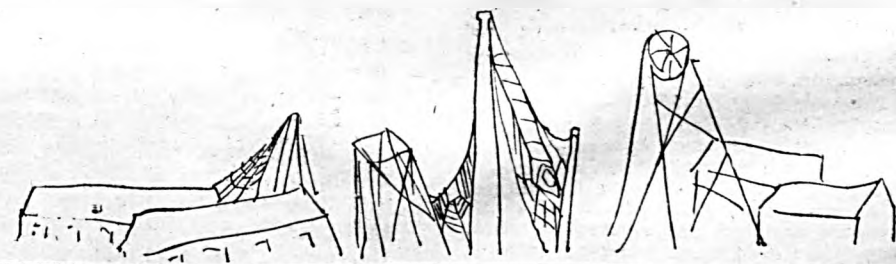
Both are based upon a conviction that the power to dominate is what gives importance to a human being.

"Angels Unite"—9

Drawn by ARTHUR WRAGG



"Well, at least I managed them a bowl of soup!
—What have you two done?"



nourished at such a cost.

What I am suggesting is that this is an additional consideration. It reinforces, it does not contradict what I have been urging.

Men and women differ inevitably in some extremely important respects, but what they have in common, their humanity, is even more important than what distinguishes them.

To emphasize the less important aspect (however important it is) and to leave out of account the more important is in this context of peace and war not merely a negative failure; it

Whereas, in the pacifist view, what makes a human being important is his ability to overcome evil through the power of love.

This ability is common to men and women. The Church, I believe, will not be pacifist until it realizes the need for women in the ministry: it will not realize the need for women in the ministry until it is pacifist.

★

MEANWHILE the PPU is doing in a two-fold way what the Church is failing to do. It is affirming the indivi-

Here's the Answer

What about China and Abyssinia?

I have heard young men and women saying "I won't fight again, and then there will be no war!" The falsity of that has been exposed in Abyssinia and China. The Abyssinians and the Chinese did not want war, but that did not prevent it.—General Sir Hubert Gough.

GENERAL Gough is probably right about the Abyssinians and the Chinese. They did not want war; neither do the masses of people in any country until war is upon them.

Once war had started, however, the Abyssinians waged it with the ferocity for which they are famous. China, too, under the stress of modern war, is becoming as ruthless as the invader she fights.

The pacifist case, however, is built not on a mere desire to avoid war, but on a determination not to resort to it in any circumstances.

Given this attitude, a nation of pacifists would—

Firstly, deal with its neighbours in such a way that no occasion for war would be provided; and

Secondly, if it were attacked, would meet the invader with non-violent methods.

In the case of Abyssinia and China that method was not used. In India, where it is being used against an invader of long standing, it is already showing its possibilities. Had the Abyssinians and the Chinese relied upon it, their invaders' troops could have been militarily demoralized and the aggression rendered unprofitable.

Victory without Violence

A GRIN DID THE TRICK

The Right Rev. A. H. Anstey, Anglican Bishop of Trinidad—the Caribbean oil, pitch, sugar, and cocoa metropolis—was one of the outstanding heroes of the recent general strike in that British colony.

With marines on their way from the British warship Exeter, volunteers being hastily mobilized after rioting in which a police corporal was buried alive, an officer killed and others wounded, the brave bishop armed with nothing but a smile walked into a mob of strikers in the island's Southern capital of San Fernando and converted an angry mob into a friendly crowd.

Bishop Anstey's smile is the biggest I have ever met and a photograph of the actual scene, which I have before me as I write, shows the bishop in action surrounded by a smiling crowd of negroes and East Indian sugar-cane cutters.

The negro-size grin is well-known; but Bishop Anstey can out-grin them. When someone audaciously knocked off his hat, he smiled even more widely. "It enabled more people to recognize me," he said afterward.

The World Observer,
September, 1937.

(Continued from col. 3)

dual's right to withstand the imposition of a national standard which violates his conscience, and it is affirming the value of women not only as women but primarily as human beings.

It is notorious that in the militaristic States women are not regarded as possessing any value as human beings: what value they have is as breeders of soldiers. In Germany almost the only women who are withstanding the imposition of the totalitarian militarism are a few "pastoresses" in the Confessional Church.

One of the last expressions of opinion that Dick allowed to be published was a defence of the view that women should be admitted to the full Christian ministry.

I believe that these facts are not without their significance.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1

April 30, 1938.

WILL LABOUR CHOOSE PEACE?

THE Government's agreement with Italy boils down, as we have shown in this paper, to two things: on the one hand, we are to recognize Abyssinia as Italy's African empire; on the other, Italy has solemnly stated that she "has no territorial or political aims, and seeks no privileged economic position in . . . Spain." To these there are two main objections.

There is, first, a very serious and sincere objection to a principle—that of recognizing as legal the position of a country after it has been altered by the warlike action of another. Then there is the more particular objection that, despite (if not because of) the Anglo-Italian agreement the democratically elected Government of Spain is to be allowed to be overthrown by fascists of various nationalities.

Government and Opposition

So far as it is possible to generalize, there we have the Opposition to the Government of this country. The campaign for a so-called United Peace Alliance is merely an expression of that generalization. Last Saturday's meeting in the Queen's Hall, London, was the nearest the movement has yet come to taking concrete form. In the resolution that was passed unanimously the policy of this loose combination of Communists, Socialists, Cooperators, trade unionists, Liberals, some Conservatives even, and various attached and unattached people with Left sympathies was stated to be:

1. "Freedom of the Spanish Government to purchase arms."
 2. The provision of any "material assistance necessary to secure the victory of the Spanish Government."
 3. Support of "any political, economic, and industrial action which may be taken" to these ends—including, presumably, a general strike, if the suggestion bears fruit.
- But this policy, like the one it opposes, has an unwritten basis. The real conflict is between the policy of bargaining and alliance for the safeguarding of national interests; and the policy of "enforcing peace" by a strict application of the League "law" that forcible alterations of the status quo shall be punished regardless alike of causes, circumstances, and true justice.

The Pacifist's Position

That may well be an over-generalization. But it is an even less justifiable generalization to group everyone in one or other of those camps. This analysis should make it plain that the peace-maker, for example, can be in neither. For him it is an axiom that peace in Spain cannot be made by fighting the war to a conclusion—whether in the Government's favour or anyone else's. And if he cannot agree to the recognition of the legality of Italy's empire, it can only be as part of a general recognition of the illegality—or rather, injustice—of all empires, including our own.

Alone as usual? Need there be any note of despair—let alone sneering—in the question? What of the Labour Party? It, too, at any rate officially, still stands in neither camp. While it is still undecided (not to say muddled)—even if the reason be mainly prestige—there is yet a hopeful chance of winning it over to a wholehearted determination to tackle the job that both camps profess to be, but are not, tackling—

Dr. ALEX WOOD on the

Abolition of Corporal Punishment

THE report of the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment will be welcomed by all pacifists. War is the outstanding example of a coercive method which is brutal, irrational, impersonal and indiscriminating.

But there are many who believe that our social and political order rests on methods which are essentially similar. Indeed, war is often defended on this ground. On the other hand, there are pacifists who believe that it would be possible for society to renounce all coercion without lapsing into anarchy.

Among pacifists there is no orthodoxy in this matter. We renounce war; at that point we are certain and united in our certainty; for the rest we are for the moment content to allow freedom of conviction within our ranks.

War Method

THERE are, however, two penal methods in common use among us against which I think we are almost unanimous—capital

Next week
another P.P.U. Sponsor
WILFRED WELLOCK
will write on Fascism
and its influence on the
Government of this country

that of peace making—in the only realistic manner.

And there are others than the comparatively few who owe allegiance to the Labour Party; thousands, probably millions who just frankly don't quite understand what it's all about but vaguely want peace. These are as likely to fall for the "Anglo-Italian reconciliation" plea as for the "Save Spain, save peace" slogan. The Labour Party is in danger of being pushed into the latter camp—even by reactionaries, who doubtless would prefer that to the only likely alternative.

Labour's Choice

For that alternative is to adopt forthwith the policy of real peace making which pacifists have been urging now for so long.

It is a happy chance that the drive for the "United Peace Alliance" should coincide with something like a spate of conventions organized by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group. That at Sheffield is reported on page one of this issue; next Saturday Southampton will hear the message of practical pacifism; the following Saturday it will be Norwich's turn.

These conventions are not only helping to check the drift into those rival camps. They have already had their positive effect on the Labour movement. They have made it pause, less anxious to commit itself to a policy that may mean war. As Mr. C. J. SIMMONS, prospective Labour candidate for Wolverhampton, West, recently expressed the ever-growing feeling:

There is real danger that wrong emphasis may lead the public to associate the Labour Party with war advocacy. It would aid unity and prevent misrepresentation of our aims if our speakers laid stress on the urgent need of mutual readjustment of world economic problems and removal of grievances. We need world economic equality.

And there are other hopeful signs—straws, if you will—SIR W. CITRINE's refusal to receive a deputation arising out of Saturday's "unity" conference, and the engineers' refusal to be stampeded into speeding up the arms programme. Now is the time to follow up those gains with an even more determined campaign to put the practical pacifist case before the public.

Support these pacifist conventions. See that your local Labour Parties and other sympathetic organizations are represented at one or other. But also carry on with the very necessary spadework of making the Peace Pledge Union's manifesto known far and wide. Thus can pacifists make a really practical contribution toward making peace now.

punishment and corporal punishment.

Here as in war we have methods of coercion essentially brutal and inconsistent with any true belief in the essential value and dignity of human personality. There are few, if any, pacifists who would not welcome the immediate and complete abolition of both methods.

So far as corporal punishment is concerned, the opposition to it has, in spite of occasional lapses, been steadily gaining ground. It has been opposed on the ground of its brutalizing effects.

This objection is not based on sentimentality. In fact, in this matter sentiment, strange to say, is on the side of punishment.

It is when a wave of vindictiveness, cloaked as moral indignation, sweeps across the country, provoked by some peculiarly revolting and disgusting form of crime, that the public calls for this kind of savage punishment without any rational basis whatever.

Psychologists' Case

THIS brings us to the second important ground of objection—the psychological. Psychoanalysts have come almost unanimously to certain rather unpleasant conclusions about the motives which underlie the desire to inflict corporal punishment.

Their evidence was submitted to the Committee and is set out as follows:

Briefly stated, it is that the impulse to punish—as opposed to the treatment, reform, or even preventive detention of an offender—derives from an element of sadism which, in a conscious or (more often) unconscious form, exercises an influence over the thoughts and actions of a majority of the community.

Punishment, in so far as it is imposed merely for punishment's sake, is an expression of the hatred felt by the community toward the person who has offended against the laws of the community.

This element of sadism, which is present in all punishment *qua* punishment, is accentuated when the punishment takes the form of inflicting physical pain: for corporal punishment is not only an expression of hate impulse, but is also a direct or indirect expression of sexual impulse.

Opposition comes also from the medical psychologists, and the report records that:

The medical psychologists, who gave evidence before us, saw great objection to birching as a judicial punishment for young offenders. While they admitted that there might be a few cases in which corporal punishment would operate as an effective deterrent, without doing any psychological harm, they considered that the selection of these suitable cases was a difficult task involving detailed investigation and observation by a skilled medical psychologist over a comparatively long period.

Flogging Failed

THE third ground of opposition to corporal punishment has been its ineffectiveness. The general public has been loth to accept the truth here.

The Committee has earned the gratitude of all penal reformers by the extremely thorough way in which they have dealt with this aspect of the question.

It has been persistently asserted that garrotting was stamped out by the Garroting Act, 1863, which imposed flogging as a penalty. The statistics are given in full and are a complete refutation of the assertion.

Other instances of a similar nature are investigated—the "High Rip" gangs in Liverpool in the 'eighties, the outbreak of assault and robbery of drunken sailors at Cardiff about 1908, the stamping out of the practice of men living on the earnings of prostitution in Glasgow about 1912, and a similar instance in Manchester in 1934—all these are examined in detail, and in no single instance can the effectiveness of the punishment be established from the statistics.

The conclusion of the Committee is as follows:

After examining all the available evidence, we have been unable to find any

body of facts or figures showing that the introduction of a power of flogging has produced a decrease in the number of the offences for which it may be imposed, or that offences for which flogging may be ordered have tended to increase, when little use was made of the power to order flogging, or to decrease when the power was exercised more frequently. We are not satisfied that corporal punishment has that exceptionally effective influence as a deterrent which is usually claimed for it by those who advocate its use as a penalty for adult offenders.

Three Categories

BROADLY speaking, corporal punishment in this country falls into one of three categories.

It may be ordered for young offenders by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction; or, in the case of certain specific offences, for adults by order of superior courts; or, in connexion with prison discipline, it may be ordered for offences committed in prison.

The Committee considers each of these categories separately. So far as the young offender is concerned, the recommendation is clear and unambiguous.

In view of the considerations discussed in paragraphs 24 to 30, we have come to the conclusion that, as a court penalty, corporal punishment is not a suitable or effective method of dealing with young offenders. We therefore recommend the repeal of all the existing powers of courts of summary jurisdiction to order young offenders to be birched.

So far as the superior courts are concerned, the offences for which flogging may be ordered as a punishment form a curious collection with nothing in common.

After discussing these, the Committee came down solidly against the retention of corporal punishment for any type of offence in this category. After recommending that the relevant sections of the various Acts should be rescinded, they continue:

For similar reasons we do not consider that any fresh powers should be conferred on the courts to punish by flogging offences for which corporal punishment may not at present be imposed. The use of corporal punishment as a court penalty should, in our view, be entirely abandoned (paragraphs 60 to 62).

Prison Discipline

WITH respect to offences against prison discipline the Committee is unanimous that corporal punishment should rarely be used, but recommends the retention of the power to inflict it for assault on an officer or mutiny.

The recommendation is made on the ground that the Committee is satisfied both by

our examination of the records and also by the evidence given by persons with long experience of prison administration, that although it may do nothing to improve his general behaviour corporal punishment does, in all but a very few cases, restrain the person punished from committing further assaults for which a second flogging could be ordered.

The second ground is even more disputable. It has no statistical basis and rests only "on the views expressed to us by those who have had practical experience of handling prisoners." It is the ground that corporal punishment exercises a preventive deterrence on others.

To rest the case on this ground is quite frankly to justify use of the human personality as a means instead of as an end, and is to deny the valuation of personality which is inherent in Christianity.

Many will regret that corporal punishment should find a refuge anywhere in our penal system, but, at least, if this report is embodied in legislation, a great advance will have been made.

Hentig has said, "Corporal punishment is a moribund means of punishment. Of the civilized European States, England is the only one to resist the influences of psychological consideration and practical experience which seek to remove it."

This report will accelerate its removal, and it should be read and broadcast by all pacifists.

HOW DISEASE ENSLAVES INDIA

"Its Removal Would End British Rule"

From Our Own Correspondent

THE reason why large parts of India were conquered by small bands of foreign invaders—Aryans, Muslims, and British—was not necessarily one of any racial inferiority, according to Professor J. B. S. Haldane.

"It was because in very great sections of India the vitality of millions is lowered by diseases such as malaria. If such diseases were eradicated, the British rule in India would not last for another year."

Professor Haldane was addressing the second annual conference, held in London, of the Federation of Indian Student Societies in Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

"In Europe in the next generation the main task of the student may be to preserve culture or to preserve a certain fraction of culture during a period of national and civil wars," he continued. "But you will also have to help to build up a new culture to apply European technology to Indian problems without carrying over unnecessarily the European ideas which go with the technology and are often very much less important than the technology which they embody."

TECHNICAL PROBLEMS OF PROGRESS

"I am particularly thinking of the vast problems in India in the field of agriculture and medicine. I would like to see a large portion of Indian students studying sciences bearing on this problem or working in the agriculture spheres."

"The struggle for a free and independent India is as much a technical as a political one."

WHAT IT MEANS FOR US

Professor Haldane had said earlier that "if India were as free as Canada, we should be freer, because I know that one nation cannot oppress another without losing some of its own freedom."

"For example, the British imperialism in India has inevitably resulted in the existence of a professional army in this country and a ruling class with a somewhat exaggerated habit of ordering people about."

A message was sent to the conference by Jawaharlal Nehru and by the World Student Association.

The Right to Disobey

The question of conscientious objection and the right of civil disobedience will be discussed at one session of a conference to be held by the National Council for Civil Liberties in Old Jordan's Hostel, near Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire, next weekend. The discussion will be led by Miss A. Ruth Fry and Mr. Kenneth Ingram.

Inclusive fees for the conference (Saturday afternoon to Monday morning), are: members, 25s.; non-members, 30s. For attendance at single sessions (including a social on Saturday evening) the cost will be: members, 2s. 6d.; non-members, 3s.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, National Council for Civil Liberties, Morley House, 320 Regent Street, London, W.1.

Lead to U.S. Churches

A message to American churches on the international crisis, sent out from a conference of church leaders held in New York, called upon Christians to urge the adoption of policies making for international goodwill and justice.

It also advocated resistance against increasingly prevalent reliance upon militarism and the methods of power politics.

It was suggested that the churches themselves should affirm at all times their supreme loyalty to God, and maintain fellowship both with those whose conscience led them to participate in war and with those whose conscience forbade them to participate in war.



This is one of two peace shops opened in Eccles in connexion with the recent peace week, during which much pacifist literature was sold and distributed.

EMPLOYERS FACE THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES

"Warm Handshake no Substitute for Good Wages"

From Our Special Correspondent, ERIC R. SLY

TWENTY years ago, when the industrial problems raised by the War were exercising men's minds, Quaker employers met in conference. Ten years later another conference took place. Last weekend, at Birmingham, a third conference was held. It was attended by some 120 industrialists and business men from various parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

Many points of view were expressed and no united conclusions were formulated, but it cannot be an unimportant factor of the present situation that such a group of men engaged in industry and commerce should be discussing their responsibilities as Christians toward their fellow-men of all classes.

Many were unconvinced that a radical change of the social order would bring about better conditions, but if such a change takes place, on democratic and progressive lines, these men at any rate will actively cooperate rather than oppose.

The chairman, Herbert G. Tanner, claimed that the previous conferences had had results not only in their own religious society but in the wider world—both in this country, the Dominions, and the USA. Many suggestions which had the attraction of novelty when then put forward had become the common practice of more enlightened employers.

SETBACK AFTER OTTAWA

There was, however, no room for complacency. From the Ottawa conference, which had far-reaching results for industry, could be traced a definite and increasing deterioration of the international situation.

While Laurence J. Cadbury, in addressing the conference on "Public Control of Industry," regarded a policy of public works as being "dangerous unless used with great discretion," and advocated "no sweeping extension of State control in industry or commerce," he did agree in subsequent discussion that marketing boards could be of value if their basis were broadened to include an adequate and efficient representation of the consumer as well as the producer and distributor.

John H. Guy (Messrs. J. Mackintosh and Sons) emphasized the quandary of the industrial executive who found that the principles and ends of business were in direct conflict with those of the religion he professed.

Mr. Guy advocated the extension of the professional attitude to the whole field of business, in accordance with the views of Professor Tawney.

WORKERS SPEAK OF "SLAVERY"

Shipley N. Brayshaw, a Member of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, proposed industrial planning and cur-

rency control on the basis of "The Next Five Years" plan and the reorganization of industry on the lines of "Federations." Much interest was shown in his proposals.

Outspoken papers by three workers who did not hesitate to characterize the present relationships of master and man as a form of slavery, were warmly received by those they criticized!

Not only the economic but also the psychological and other factors were brought under review and frankly discussed. Afterward there were addresses on an interesting industrial experiment on the lines of increased workers' control and on the provisions of the new Factory Act.

Human needs in industry were examined on the basis of modern industrial psychology in a public address by Dr. Howard E. Collier, who described the need for better human relations as being even more fundamental than economic needs—vital though these were.

In summing up the conference, William Wallace (Messrs. Rowntree and Co.), said the Christian employer must treat all men, including his employees, as his brothers—remembering that a warm handshake was no substitute for good wages.

A Way to Save Millions

MAKE WAR ON POVERTY

From Our Own Correspondent

THE spirit of Hitler was manufactured by the Treaty of Versailles," declared Miss Mary Gamble at a meeting held by Lincoln group of the Peace Pledge Union on Sunday.

Injustice which might lead to war should be settled before the shedding of blood took place, she added. There never could be war if only a world peace conference was called in which people would cooperate without feelings of bitterness, hatred, and despair.

Methods of kindly cooperation would perhaps save the lives of 40,000,000 people.

Yet, in many quarters, pacifists were laughed out of court as impractical idealists with no understanding of human nature.

WAR ON POVERTY

The Rev. Henry Carter quoted Mr. Chamberlain's admission that arms revealed "the incredible folly of civilization," and asked whether folly was a course for intelligent, religious beings to follow.

"Let the war of nations be against the poverty afflicting all nations," urged Mr. Carter.

The chairman, Mr. Theodore Burr, contended that isolation should be broken down. People should be able to move freely from country to country, and such words as "aliens" and "enemies" should be removed from our dictionaries. Politically and socially we must bring men into the line of peace.

MISS MARY GAMBLE

Speaker at

PEACE SERVICE

THE KING'S WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH
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SUNDAY, MAY 1st, 7 p.m.

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A Woman's Point of View

Obstacles to Peace on the Continent

A FORTNIGHT ago I was in Paris, discussing pacifism, fascism, and internationalism with delegates from Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, France, and England. The most interesting discussions were, naturally enough, those which took place over lunch, or in those intervals when we rose from our seats, yawned and strolled about until the next session should begin.

These informal discussions made me more keenly aware of the differences between English and Continental pacifism. I should not like that statement to be misunderstood.

I have been surprised to observe how very much akin pacifists all over the world have become in the last few years. Absolute pacifists in France could sign our pledge today, and honour it. The difference arises from the fact that the obstacles to peace that must be overcome are far more numerous on the Continent than they are here.

PACIFISM PUT TO TEST

IN France, the pacifism of every male pacifist is put to the test in the ordinary course of his life, and irrespective of any immediate preparation for war. He must do his military service. If he refuses, he will be imprisoned. When his term of imprisonment is ended, he will again be asked to do his military service. Should he again refuse, he will again be imprisoned.

I doubt if any of us can realize clearly what this decision means to a young man. If he stands firm in his pacifist principles he must be prepared to spend the young and vital years of his life in prison.

He can be called upon to serve when he is eighteen; and he will be called upon until he is forty-five, and no longer of military age. He must sacrifice all hopes of a happy and interesting career; he is not free to marry; is cut off as completely from civilized life as if he were a criminal serving a long sentence.

What strikes me most in this situation is the appalling inevitability of it.

There is no escape. There are two alternatives, and both of them horrible.

A French pacifist can either do his military service, and lose some part of his self-respect. Or he can go to prison, and hope that his gesture will arouse the sleeping consciences of the world.

If a man accepts the second alternative, he voluntarily sentences himself to prison for what can only be regarded as a life sentence.

Nor is this all. I have long cherished the illusion that if a Frenchman became a pacifist after he had done his military service, he had at least escaped that test of the strength of his principles. A few minutes' conversation with a Frenchman at this meeting in Paris enlightened me.

STATE OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY

THE present situation in France could be called, if her politicians so desired, a state of national emergency. Her leaders did so desire, and as a result of this, men who have already done their military service are to take a "refresher course" in the reserve forces.

Among them was the man to whom I was speaking—a convinced and absolute pacifist. In a few months' time he will be in prison. French prisons are not inviting. And he will be sentenced to at least one year's imprisonment.

It is not easy, in April, to face the fact that in September you will be in prison for at least a year; to know that in a year the whole face of Europe may have changed.

Every pacifist organization in France

is liable to find that its directing officers have compromised, and therefore lost in principle and in power; or that they are in prison, and may continue to be in prison.

The imprisonment of Louis Loréal, general secretary of *La Patrie Humaine* is of another kind. Freedom of the press in France goes so far, and then stops. It stopped when Louis Loréal made in his paper certain statement that were held to be against the interests of the nation. PEACE NEWS has often made similar statements and more pointedly. But Humphrey Moore, its editor, is not yet familiar with the inside of an English prison.

Pacifists in France enjoy, in peace time, all the trials and troubles which must beset English pacifists in war time. And that is at least one reason why every English pacifist should be acutely aware of the day to day problems of our Continental friends; and ready to lend a helping hand.

DIFFICULTIES FACED BY WOMEN

AS the position is more difficult in France for men, so it is for women. In England, men and women can work side by side for pacifism, knowing that in peace and in war time they must share the burden.

In France, there is inevitably a cleavage. Women are not called upon to do military service. However much they may fight against it for the sakes of their brothers and husbands and sons, they are still not called upon to face an issue where they must give up their actual physical freedom or be for ever damned in their own eyes.

Theirs is the painful and less straightforward task of supporting their male relatives in their stand, even when this means loss of companionship, support, and a settled happy life.

I think you would be astonished to know how deeply any sign of sympathy or understanding from England is appreciated; how gallantly and with what gusto pacifist organizations in France carry on, in spite of financial, geographical and political difficulties.

THELMA NICKLAUS.

Women Talking

What is peace? Listen to this conversation:

Isn't it what we've got when we haven't got a war?

So we've got it now?

Well, England isn't fighting anybody, is she?

Then why do we talk about working for peace, and building up peace?

You really mean working to stop war, trying to show that war is wrong.

PEACE JUST NEGATIVE?

So you think peace is just negative? Let's begin again. What does the word "peace" make you think of?

Holding one's peace!

I'm not going to take that hint. What else do you think of?

Oh, a peaceful scene: sun shining on an empty village street, sun setting over the sea...

Would you call a busy village street a peaceful scene?

No, I'd call that an animated scene, a lively scene.

So peace isn't animated or lively?

I never think of it as lively. I always think of peace and quiet, like bacon and eggs and pork and beans.

Or peace after the storm?

Yes, it suggests repose to me.

So what's your idea of peace on earth? Everybody doing nothing but sit in the light of the setting sun with hands folded?

No, of course not, everybody happy and contented.

Well, what makes people happy and contented?

A lot of things. Having enough money so that they don't have to be anxious. Being well. Being able to do a job they like. Having leisure...

QUALITIES OF PEACE

So peace means having enough money, having health, having an interesting job, having time...

Pages from the past of GERMANY and AUSTRIA

selected by

S. D. USHERWOOD

WHAT happened to these countries when fighting was officially stopped in 1918?

How were peace negotiations begun?

What were the steps in the process by which German-speaking territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire were divided between Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia?

What have the results been?

This is an attempt to answer these questions, as far as possible by summaries and quotations of standard authorities. From them the reader is asked to make up his own mind whether the Peace Treaties were ever in accordance with the objects professed by the Allied Governments when fighting was stopped.

This is not just another piece of propaganda. No attempt has been made to pick out those documents which prove the case or to omit any which go against it.

Still less is it a disguised attempt to excuse the recent German invasion of Austria.

Nor is the tale of the economic disasters which befell Austria after the War retold here, as it is so well-known.

Negotiations Before the War Ended

"Many persons believe that the Armistice terms constituted the first contract concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers and the German Government, and that we entered the (Peace) Conference with our hands free except so far as these Armistice terms might bind us. This was not the case."—J. M. KEYNES. *The Economic Consequences of the Peace.* Page 52.

Events Leading up to the Signing of the Armistices

October 4, 1918. The Imperial German Government offered "to accept the programme set forth by the President of the USA in his message to the Congress of January 8, 1918.

Well, you can't be peaceful without all that. I agree with you. But I know a young professional soldier who would find all those conditions fulfilled in war-time. He'd have enough money, he'd be well (whilst he was alive), he likes his job, he has enough leisure to satisfy him.

I suppose I didn't mention all the things that make people happy and contented. There's all that stuff about loving one's neighbour and loving one's enemy. I've probably got the cart before the horse.

So will you agree that you were wrong in the beginning, and agree that we haven't got peace now?

Yes, I suppose most of us aren't really filled with affection for our neighbours, and we'll all of us be ready to sing of confounding and frustrating our enemies when the time comes. And we haven't all got enough money, or enough leisure

LOVE AND TOLERANCE

So we've got this far. Peace is something we haven't got now. It implies love and tolerance rather than hate and suspicion. Peace in the community includes freedom of opportunity, a job to do, a decent wage and reasonable leisure.

Aren't you making peace include or imply rather a lot?

That's impossible. Peace is two things: an attitude of mind and a state of society. What is there that can't be covered by that?

Well, what does the dictionary say? (Pause, in which dictionary is found and consulted.)

It says this: from the Latin *pacem*, acc. of *pax*, peace, orig. a compact... to make a bargain... to agree...

If peace is a compact it needs two to make it, like a quarrel.

That's what I was fumbling after when I said peace was two things. When you've got your attitude of mind right you're only half way there.

So a hermit can only have attitude of mind... he can't know the whole of peace. He can't... he can't practice cooperation, he can't be tolerant... he can't make a compact alone.

If you had joined in this conversation what would you have said?

Next week's conversation will be on "Peace: A Compact." If you want to join in, send your remarks, and make them as brief as possible, by Tuesday next.

I have to thank a few argumentative correspondents, from whose letters the conversation above was concocted.

M. S.

Nursery Rhymes for Modern Times



Drawn by Audrey Wynne

Ding dong bell
Put him in a cell.
What is his sin?
Doing someone in.

Ding dong bell
Put him in a cell.
Keep him there until
He agrees to kill.

Films

BAN ON ARMS TRADE EXPOSURE

An independent American film, entitled *Dealers in Death*, which exposed the munitions industry in all lands, was recently taken over to France to appear under the title *Les Trafiquants de la Mort*.

But public showing of the film was banned by the French censor, and private showings are now being held by various groups, including war veterans.

PERCIVAL GULL has his last fling

THE War Office, inspired by the success of its Raw Recruit Fattening Campaign, may carry the idea further.

It is now expected that before long a scheme will be started under which recruits will be able to qualify for higher rank according to the expansion of their waist-line.

Thus, youngsters stuffed with prunes and beef will quickly be promoted to sergeants.

Sergeants, expanding rapidly on a diet of mutton and rhubarb will be given a new accent and a Sam Browne.

The real fun is expected when the young man who began at seven stone has gorged himself into a Generalship.

There is some difficulty in finding the right diet to bridge the awkward gap between a Generalship and a Safe Job.

SUGGESTION FOR LUNCH

Turtle Soup.
Fillet of Swordfish.
Stuffed Reindeer.
Bombe glace.
Aeroplane Biscuit.

FURTHER SUGGESTION

Machine-gun Pie.

SPRING IS HERE

Tra, la, la...
The guns are growing one by one,
The bombs are sprouting fast:
Recruit-pickers are having wonderful fun,
For Belisha's words bear fruit at last.
And the steps of Neville Chamberlain,
Along St. James's Park,
Are careless as his care for Spain,
And his policy's just a lark.
But best of all there's Winston Churchill,
Whose hair curls under his bowler.
It isn't the spring, but the Nazis who worry him still.
And Lennox-Boyd, dropping howler after howler

GULL, SCIENTIST

NEWS reaches me that gas masks have been invented for cows. Whether they will be stored or given to the cows at once has not yet been divulged.

Anyway, I am now busy in my private laboratory inventing a gas mask for grass. It seems essential that cows should have something to eat in between air raids.

My chief difficulty at the moment is the question of size. Blades of grass vary considerably.

It will be necessary for each grade to have its separate mask. The cost will probably be about five shillings each.

THE RABBITS ARE ANNOYED

ONE South Coast resort is urging that use should be made of caverns dug in the South Downs in the event of air raids.

This would prevent overcrowding under the railway arch.

But the project is meeting with considerable opposition from the local rabbits.

The King of the Bunnies has asked the Lord Mayor to receive a deputation. He points out that if everyone dives underground the rabbits will be driven out.

They are not provided with gas masks and their white tails would prove particularly vulnerable to air attack.

The Mayor, it is understood, will counter with the suggestion that rabbits should take immediate steps to dye their tails in coffee.

OUTRAGE OF DINGLEBELL

OSRAM DINGLEBELL, the well-known modernist poet, has been informed by the War Office that the spot on the South Downs where he usually sits is needed for target practice. (News Agency.)

MY FINAL WORD

TODAY I say goodbye. This is my final appearance in PEACE NEWS.

I can now reveal that I am not Lord Beaverbrook but the Chairman of the Gas Mask Producers' Corporation. My real name is Wigstanley.

My sigh of relief as I put the last full-stop to this column is expected to cause a blizzard in Surrey.

Look out...

PERSONALIA

THIS week, on page six, you will find an article by H. Granville Hawkes.

Granville Hawkes is regional secretary for the North London groups of the Peace Pledge Union. He is a great tramper, and in his letter to me mentions such faraway places as Elsinore, Geneva, Freiburg, and Paris.

He first came into contact with the War Resisters' International on a trip down the Rhine in 1929. Before that he had been an ardent supporter of the League of Nations Union and on one occasion sold 25 copies of the Covenant of the League!

His first lessons in pacifism came from Councillor Fred Easton, at one time Editor of the *National News-agent*, who related to him how he was mobbed in Finsbury Park for speaking against the Boer War.

As a journalist, Granville Hawkes has been a frequent contributor to Left-wing papers. His job is engineering publicity and he has written a great deal for trade and technical journals.

After reading, he finds his greatest pleasure in music—lieder and folk-song—which he studied under Alan Bush and Rutland Boughton. He has taken part in a great number of concerts and festivals.

News reaches us that, at Watcombe Park on Easter Sunday, Granville Hawkes addressed a meeting on "Why I Am a Pacifist," and that the murmurs of dissent during his address showed that virgin soil had been ploughed.

FREACHED TO HIS BISHOP

CANON Stuart Morris last year spoke at 229 PPU meetings, not counting those little informal speeches which leaders of the movement are frequently called on to make.

It is extremely doubtful whether any other Sponsor can equal such a record.

The first time Canon Morris publicly stated his pacifist convictions in a sermon he had the amusing experience

of finding that his bishop and the Financial Adviser to the Admiralty were sitting among the congregation.

O.T.C. TO P.P.U.

MANY complimentary remarks have been made about the chart printed in our last week's issue, showing up the post-Versailles follies of Europe and designed by Stephen Usherwood.

Stephen Usherwood is a secondary schoolmaster living at Basingstoke. His age is thirty.

He went to St. Dunstan's College, Catford, and from there to Oriel College, Oxford. At Oxford he took an Honours degree in Classics and Modern History.

One amusing sidelight is that at both places he joined the O.T.C.

However, he was one of the first to send in his postcard in answer to Dick Sheppard's letter in the *Neic Statesman*.

He has since learnt a great deal about pacifism from his wife, who was at the Fellowship School, Gland, whilst Stephen Usherwood himself, was still in the Oriel O.T.C!



PROFESSOR JOHANNES UDE, the Ausirian economist, whose work for peace was described in PEACE NEWS a fortnight ago.

DO WE NEED A

Mental Fitness Campaign?

"AN international psychological clinic for the provision of mentally healthy statesmen," is suggested as a way to peace by a PEACE NEWS correspondent. It is only a few weeks ago that a well-known psychologist, Dr. H. Crichton-Miller, also suggested a "judgment test"—in this case, however, for the people who put the statesmen in power.

Our correspondent, writing over the initials L.M.B., outlines the proposal for a clinic as follows:

The clinic would be in the hands of psychologists who had had special training in the art of diagnosing and remedying any mental peculiarity which might interfere with the judgment of a politician in international affairs. These psychiatrists would not be allowed to inflict their personal ideas on to their "patients"; but might try, if necessary, to influence them into a more pacifist mode of thought.

CERTIFICATION

If this should fail, and the patient were still found to be too pugnacious or otherwise unsuitable, the case would be brought before an international board, and he would be found some harmless occupation.

Money now spent on armaments could be used for the maintenance of these clinics. (Later, there should be many—one for a certain number of politicians.)

A "judgment test" for voters was suggested by Dr. Crichton-Miller as a means of saving democracy, for, he said, "if we cannot rear a less ignorant and a more rational generation of voters democracy is clearly doomed, for the changes in civilization are all making for the success of authority over independent judgment." He went on to say:

To the psychologist the idea of man's equality in franchise is mere sentimentality. The psychologist would both educate for the franchise and demand a qualification for the franchise—not only a qualification in age,

still less in social status—but a qualification in valid judgment.

I submit that we might begin at Oxford and Cambridge. Next time the Union Society of one of these seats of learning is about to decide on some vital political or international issue, let the vote be restricted to those who have achieved a reasonable score in a laboratory test of individual judgment. The world might be surprised not only by the issue of the voting but also by the reduction in the franchise.

DECLINING INTELLIGENCE

"Hereditarily we are doomed, and no sort of environmental change can ever neutralize the grim fact that the intelligence quotient of the nation is declining."

"I submit that unless a great change comes over the outlook of our adult population, unless the above-average accept the onus of fertility, unless the below-average face the necessity of limitation, there are only two logical alternatives—coercion or decline."

CLERIHIEWS

Can You Do Them?

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

May I suggest that your readers be invited to send in Clerihews as a way of hitting off some of the political fallacies of the day? For instance:—

Prime Minister Chamberlain's
Policy of more aeroplanes,
Means letting the world rip
Straight ahead for dictatorship.

Home Secretary Hoare
Wants to protect us from war
By lectures on gases corrosive;
But supposing they use High Explosive?

These are pale examples of what might well be done. I think that a few really good ones might stick in people's minds very easily and pass round rapidly, providing a basis for private thought by individuals, who will thereby become aware for themselves of the futility of rearmament, ARP, &c.

K. M. STRANGE.

17, Ardsheal Close,
Broadwater, Worthing.

Sent by a Reader



A FUTURE READER?

Taken by Mrs. Margaret Walker of Woldingham, Surrey

Queer Origins of

THE WORDS

WE USE

4.—BAFFLE

"BAFFLING" is one of the commonest adjectives used these days in discussing the amazing political scene.

It is a much less unpleasant experience though, to be baffled in the modern sense of the word than it was when the word first came into use. Indeed, it is thought of now as nothing more than bewilderment, due as much to an accident as anything—whereas it used to be a punishment!

The punishment was the degrading of a knight. He was not simply deprived of his title and all that goes with it. He was humbled to the point of having his effigy (if not actually himself) suspended upside down from a tree while his sins were cried out for all to hear.

"Confusion" seems a mild word to describe such a person's state! Yet today almost anything ranging from utter confusion to mere puzzlement is said to be a baffling condition.

Natural Selection

or

Survival of the Fittest

Replying to questions recently, Mr. Holdom, Divisional Superintendent of the ninety-seventh Division of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, said that

full protective clothing would only be worn by the fittest of air raid precaution workers and was for use in the highest concentrations of gas. Being gas-proof, it was very exhausting, and workers wearing it would only work one hour in six.

Keeping the Peace

According to the *Daily Worker* of April 9, a young man applied for exemption from military service, stating that he had a strong conscientious objection to fighting. "Upon what grounds?" inquired the chairman.

The chairman was puzzled when told by the applicant that he ought to know the reason as he was responsible.

But the young man continued: "It's less than five weeks since your worship bound me over to keep the peace for twelve months."

CURE RHEUMATISM WITH ALLYSOL

THE NATURAL ANT-SEPTIC

Powerful, but harmless. No drug effect, contains garlic, but does not taint the breath.
Tablets: 3.- box, post free, from
G. Millwood, Boxhill Road, Tadworth, Surrey.

FOOD WITHOUT SLAUGHTER

Why not try the Vegetarian Way?

FREE LITERATURE ON APPLICATION TO

The Vegetarian Society,

57, Princess Street, Manchester, 2.

NEW BOOKS

Totalitarian Weakness

The Delights of Dictatorship. By F. L. Lucas. Heffer, Cambridge. 2s.

Reviewed by Laurence Housman

IN this brief study of dictatorships ancient and modern, Mr. Lucas acutely analyses the weakness of totalitarian States, painted to look like strength.

Describing the policies which dictators find necessary for the maintenance of their popularity, "among the means of distraction" he says, "none is more helpful than hate. A scapegoat makes an admirable stalking-horse." But this device for establishing a hold on the popular will applies not only to dictatorships, but also to the attitude of mind in which present-day democracy faces the international problem.

Hatred of the things done under Nazi and fascist regime blinds many lovers of liberty to the necessity of presenting to these hated dictatorships a really constructive peace policy. But while Mr. Lucas does not stress that necessity, he gives us some helpful home-truths about our own sins and blunders of the past, for which we are still reluctant to pay the price.

Democracy, he says, has lost its faith; but reminds us how that loss of faith was preceded by a betrayal, when in 1905 the English and French rentiers, with the backing of their Governments, "shored up the worm-eaten despotism of the Czar with loans that were lost for ever, only to find that rotten structure toppling on their heads twelve years later, in the middle of a war that with a more democratic Russia might never have occurred."

So now, in a weakness not born of yesterday, christianity and democracy, timid, half-hearted, and hesitating, stand confronted by the bolder, more whole-hearted religion of totalitarian nationalism, which only an equal whole-heartedness on their part will deprive of its sham strength.

But though Mr. Lucas does not suggest a constructive peace policy of goodwill combined with sacrifice, as the solution of the world's ills, he says many good things about its present malady: "A dictator is feared; therefore he is not told any distasteful truths. He dispenses favours, therefore he is told agreeable lies. He becomes the blind centre of a dust-storm of intrigue and flattery." And again: "Where mediaeval Europe was torn between God and Caesar, Pope and Emperor, the modern dictator wisely aims at becoming both in one."

"Hence the value of this new religious fanaticism that the State is all, the individual nothing, which is the essential base of fascist and Nazi rule."

That is quite true; but it is also true that in our own country we place the State above Christianity, and when we make war, Christianity goes to the wall.

CHRISTIANITY AND REVOLUTION

Revolutionary Religion. By Canon Roger Lloyd, of Winchester. S.C.M. Press. 5s.

Two miracles are associated with most books. The wonder that they are ever written and the wonder that they are ever read. Quite a different miracle appears in this book; it is that a work so revolutionary emanates from a residentiary canon of an ancient cathedral.

Canon Lloyd submits that faith and not fact is the authentic social dynamite, and revolutions are caused by the clash between hostile and incompatible ideologies. He sees in the modern world three such forces: the new imperialism; communism, and the Christian religion.

Of fascism he writes "By violence it

is born and by increasing waves of violence it maintains itself." He feels that Christianity offers the only kind of victory in which everyone can be victorious, and that "the Christian must utterly repudiate militarism and the institution of war to which it leads."

Communist and fascist "both make deserts and call them peace," but, while Christianity is no less revolutionary, any cruelty at any stage of its revolution is the denial of that love which is its peculiar explosive force.

He submits that such times are ripe for a revival of religion and that religion has actually revived, but a religion whose primary note is an excited hysteria, and something quite contrary to Christianity.

He contrasts the philosophy of communism with the less mature philosophy of fascism. The triumph of communism, he says, holds within itself the seeds of its own decay, for, when men become free citizens in a completely classless society, they will have done what matter and motion laid down for them to do and beyond that they cannot go.

Fascists aim, he says, at the rooting out of every personality in every nation when they come to power, doing this by seeking to produce only one kind of consciousness, the consciousness of race or nationality. Caiphaz, he thinks, was perhaps the first fascist, laying down a sound fascist opinion when he argued "It is expedient that one man should die for the people that the whole nation perish not," without worrying whether Christ was guilty or not.

Canon Lloyd goes on to argue that there are two Christian virtues the totalitarian State casts out, patience and humility, for it is essential that their State policies should show quick results, but he who promises the New Jerusalem on the cheap has already delivered himself to the devil.

Whereas evil pays large dividends at once, and on the spot, good never looks like a gilt-edged investment, and evil always wins—at first. Because, as Earl Baldwin has said, "The fruits of the free spirit of man do not grow in the garden of tyranny," the sole conditions of creativeness in a totalitarian State is revolt against itself.

The closing chapters of this remarkable and really exciting book might be summed up in other words quoted from Earl Baldwin:—

No State that ever was is worthy of a free man's worship. The Christian State proclaims human personality to be supreme; the servile State denies this. Every compromise with the infinite value of the human soul leads straight back to savagery and the jungle.

C. PAUL GLIDDON.

JEWISH LITERATURE

A Golden Treasury of Jewish Literature. Edited by Leo W. Schwarz. Arthur Barker. 10s. 6d.

The compiler of this anthology of 800 pages of Jewish stories, plays, poems, and essays, deserves nothing but gratitude and praise. Simply as reading matter, for people not particularly interested in Jewish life, this collection is satisfying and stimulating. Let us hope that readers of this category, who derive enjoyment from the stories and plays, will take but a glance at the essays toward the end of the book, where the spiritual basis of Judaism, and the practical urgency of Jewish self-consciousness (and, possibly, Zionism) are described.

What is Jewish literature, in addition to the Bible? For Jews have contributed largely to the literary life of our time; André Maurois, Albert Einstein, Henri Bergson, Sigmund Freud, Stefan and Arnold Zweig, Israel Zangwill, not to mention dozens more, both today, and in the years since Biblical times.

The author quite sensibly takes the view that that literature embraces what is written in Hebrew and Yiddish, and what is written in other languages by

Jews about things Jewish. His compilation has a wonderful unity about it, although it is gathered from many lands and centuries. One would say that Jewishness gives it that unity.

But what, more specifically, is that Jewishness? It is the unity of a scattered people in suffering and expected suffering, a suffering which is the chain whereby the Lord guards his jewel, the chosen people, closely to him. Anyone who, with unprejudiced mind, reads the story of pogrom following persecution with unrelieved repetition, through the centuries, will discern the heavy cross that Judaea drags, beside which the Cross of Christendom pales. Here the humanitarian will see for himself that though the thousands of Jews live in affluence, the millions live in dehumanizing poverty. Yet it is a poverty that is not altogether disfiguring, for there is laughter through tears, Jewish courage to go on, to make the best of life, to make a joke of misery.

Anyone who loves characterization will find plenty of it, at its best, in any Jewish story, play or novel writer.

J. C. G. BURTON.

CANADIAN SOCIALISM

Democracy Needs Socialism. By the Research Committee of the Canadian League for Social Reconstruction. Nelson. 5s.

The League for Social Reconstruction is an organization conducting research into Canadian social problems. This book consists of an examination of the economic condition of Canada, and of the way in which socialism deals with the problems presented by the existing state of affairs.

The gravity of our own economic problem, and the fact that the newer countries were, until 1929, regarded as lands of "golden opportunity" for those with the pioneer spirit, have tended to obscure the enormous economic problems of these countries.

Although the ordinary person regards Canada as a land of farmers, only forty percent of the population of Canada is engaged in farming. Their economic position may be gauged by the fact that in 1932 agricultural prices stood at 48 percent of those of 1926, whilst at the same time retail prices had fallen to only eighty percent of the 1926 figure.

Again, these farmers are not, as is generally supposed, free economic individuals. One third of them are tenant farmers whose rents did not decrease with the cataclysmic fall in prices. More than one third of those who own their farms had mortgages averaging 40 percent of the value of the farms, on which fixed interest rates had to be paid.

Much the same story is told of industrial conditions in this country. Seventy-nine point four per cent. of the working population have incomes under \$1,500 (£300) a year, and take only 51.3 percent of the total income. This compares with 87.7 percent of the population in this country earning less than £250 per annum, and taking 58.1 percent of the total income, as estimated by Colin Clark for the year 1929, the year before the Canadian estimate.

The remedy? Planned agriculture and industry, with minimum wage safeguards, family allowances, socialized medicine, education and housing. Low interest Government bonds are to replace existing shareholdings, and these are to be gradually wiped out by taxation and death duties.

This is no doctrinaire work, but one compiled by those intimately in contact with realities. It follows the lines of the best socialist tradition in Great Britain, and should be welcome in a country so ripe for reform. The fallacies of social credit are dealt with in an appendix.

STANLEY PRICE.

RELIGION & ELECTICISM

Twelve Religions and Modern Life. By Har Dayal. Modern Culture Institute, Edgware. 2s. 6d.

Each of Dr. Har Dayal's "twelve religions" is introduced to the reader by a list of its "defects"—the author's name for the characteristic features

which distinguish it from other religions—and is then criticized from the point of view of "humanism." The last of the twelve is positivism, to which 31 pages are allocated: only three less than to Buddhism, and eight less than to Christianity.

The value of the book as a comparative survey of beliefs may be gauged by the fact that, in the section dealing with the last-named faith, not the slightest reference is made to the view held by a vast majority of the Christians of sixty generations, that its founder was divine.

But I am probably not greatly mistaken in finding the work's *raison d'être* in its last six pages, which are occupied by a prospectus of the Modern Culture Institute, Edgware, "established for the promotion and realization of the philosophy of Dayalism."

Prepared by an obiter dictum on page 202 to the effect that "the spiritual life must also derive health, strength, and vigour from the diverse fruits of Ise, Lu, Jerusalem, Mecca, Sarnath, Besarh, Benares, Athens, Akka, Paris, Edgware and other places" (no, there's no map!), we here learn that the diverse fruits of Edgware include twelve precepts, which abolish and supersede all old commandments.

The twelfth of the Dayalist injunctions which, perhaps rather wordily, abolish and supersede the amateur legislative efforts of Moses, Mohammed, and Gautama—"Be humane to all useful or harmless animals"—should by its tacit permission to give useless or harmful animals a really nasty time, make the new creed popular with gardeners, cat-haters, and totalitarian politicians.

Of the many gems that are scattered through Dr. Dayal's pages, but three can be quoted here:—

"Vegetarianism is not a cardinal virtue, but it is certainly the graceful floral decoration of ethics."

"O for a whiff of Taoism!"

[In overgrown cities we find] "not delicious home-made soups, but stale factory concoctions, utterly unromantic and unwholesome."

On the whole, I doubt if much nourishment is to be derived from this whiff of the romantic soup distilled from the diverse fruits of Edgware.

A. S. B. GLOVER.

PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS

The Townsman. Edited by Ronald Duncan. Quarterly. 2s. 6d.

The second (April quarter) number of this attractively produced quarterly contains part of the score of Ezra Pound's opera *Villon*; reproductions of four paintings by Hilaire Hiler, and other contributions by William Saroyan, Robert Davidson, Robert Garioch, Raymond Spottiswoode, and the editor.

Spain, the Battlefield of Capitalism. By Ellen Horup, 19, rue Henri Mussard, Geneva. 6d.

Four articles reprinted from the newspaper *Politiken*, of Copenhagen. It is difficult to see their particular claim to international circulation, though they are pungent enough comments on the League and the Non-Intervention Committee from the point of view of a strong supporter of Government Spain and the "War against Capitalism."

The Community Path to Real Security. By Francis E. Pollard. Northern Friends Peace Board and Friends Peace Committee. 1d.

The purpose of this pamphlet, says the author, "is not primarily to criticize the reliance on force . . . but to stress the importance of developing to the full the influence of those elements in human nature and those facts of associated life which make for cooperation."

Toward this end he considers the real bonds of community which are represented by international organizations in postal, financial, relief services, &c. World community, he urges, is the central truth; security the by-product.

To aid in the peaceful fight for the freedom of India, an Indian **Young Men's Association** has been formed in the Philippine Islands.

PRECAUTIONS

The PPU is in danger of becoming a trade union of moral prestige with merely an obstructionist policy which, in emergency, amounts to strike action in the defence of conscience.

Should war break out from its partial truce, our job will become more difficult. But it remains the same: to build the foundations well and securely.

As the occasion arose, we should naturally do all we could to save life, even by cooperation with ARP; but we should remember that our building is more important than the mere saving of life; and it ought to happen that we should be interested or shot for refusing to modify our buildings if it would be silly to be inferred.

I am certain we should not waste time on ARI, but let our reason be, quite simply, that we cannot afford to waste the time while we know a better way. We must tackle our job so thoroughly that our sincerity in rejecting ARI on these grounds will attract rather than repel potential builders.

“I have every sympathy with those who feel that in an air raid they would want to do something to relieve the suffering. ARP will work instead to remove the causes of war, war can speedily be abolished.”

take in order to equip ourselves for dealing with any emergency. (Richard Gregg originally suggested that all

regimes. These are an essential part of preparation for war, and to take part in them is therefore to make war more military obligations.

PETER NOWELL
123, Manwood Road, S.E.4.

not affected by the fact that we may fail to prevent war. To collaborate in ARP, even in war time, can only prolong the war. The more efficient our ARP, the better. The deciding factor in my decision well, the deciding factor in my decision was that the considerations have weighed with me part in ARP, and although other considerations for and against taking all the arguments for and against taking

minimize the suffering is to oppose the continuation of the war by every means in our power.

PEPPY COURT,
Worple Road, S.W. 20

The job of pacifists is to spread the ideas of pacifism, thus preventing war, not to practice brush and pan methods toward the abolition of bombing from the air. I believe it is only the continued refusal of our Government to take any steps toward the abolition of bombing from the air, but I believe it is all helping with ARP.

...withdrawing attention from the vital task of preventing war, to that of clearing up the mess it occurs. Moreover, suffering, nor can I become part of the conditions which produce suffering, nor can I become part of the conditions which produce suffering.

once people trust in AHP they will become war-minded, regarding war as inevitable. If the thousands wanted for organization designed to foster the growth of conditions at home which would facilitate the carrying on of aerial

be a uniquely valuable form of peace propaganda?

however (and so do I), that it is worth risking something for, because it will bring home to people who never go to a

cellent and thrilling drama. It ought to have a long run, but everything depends on the immediate success of the first

****We heartily endorse Dr. Maude Royden's emphasis of the importance of supporting this play—particularly in the**

of the Peace Pledge Union and others to organize theatre parties at once. Application for tickets should be made

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convention that their elders have

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not God, the Person and teaching of

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WILLIAM J. LYON,
6 Church Road, Galley,
Cheshire, Cheshire.

1. ARP create and foster a war psychosis and postulate an enemy. They develop a mental situation in which there must be an

2. ARP detract attention from the responsibility of the Government to investigate and eradicate the real causes of war. Continued precautions sap the strength of the will to

It does seem to me that the oft-repeated reason for refusal to cooperate in ABP, namely "that the present

GEORGE W. DOLBEY,
13 Cassimir Road, Upper Clapton, E.5.

..

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generation is asking.
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13

Letters to the Editor

"OPPOSE MUSSOLINI"

Whatever the imperialists and vested interests of our Government may have already done, or intend to do at Geneva, our British people and Parliament should uncompromisingly oppose and reject Mussolini's diplomatic drive to secure British and League of Nations recognition for his outrageous military invasion, attempted domination, and exploitation of Abyssinia.

Letters of inexorable opposition should be sent promptly to our Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary, and the press, and, early in May, to the representative delegates to the League of Nations from the democratic States and Soviet Russia when they meet in Geneva.

To make these letters most effective for world peace, good will, and fraternity, strong appeals should be made to supersede the present suicidal expenditure on fratricidal armaments and war, by

League conferences to formulate constructive proposals for peace and social justice:

The adoption of sound proposals from the Van Zeeland Report; and

A revitalized, non-military League of Nations with the Versailles Treaty cut out of the Covenant.

Then the League would progressively become a universal organization for the abolition of war and all incentives to war. The excellent work that the League has already done for peace and humanitarian movements especially through its International Labour Office would then be rapidly and greatly intensified.

WILLIAM RILEY.

14 Westminster Drive, Westcliff-on-Sea.

ANOTHER VERSION

With reference to the recent speech of Mussolini which has given so much displeasure to us in England, is it not another version of a favourite song of the "Boys of the Bull Dog Breed" that was so much to the fore a few years ago:—

We don't want to fight
But by jingo if we do
We've got the ships, we've got the men,
And we've got the money too.
How different it sounds when recited
by a foreigner!

WALLACE GREENGRASS.

Wellclose Square, Margate.

BLIND FAITH

We who trust the National Government believe:

1. That we shall keep out of war.
2. If not, our rearmament will defeat the foreigners.
3. That our air defence will keep raiders away.
4. If not, our bombers will damage the foreigners worse than they damage us.
5. That the gas masks will be sufficient protection.
6. If not, I and mine are not likely to be bombed, it will be the unlucky ones.

It is mostly newspaper talk anyway, and who believes the newspapers—except, of course, my particular daily?

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PARS for the PLATFORM

What A.R.P. are Worth

THESE remarkable details of the havoc bombs can cause were given by Wing-Commander E. J. Hodsoll, the ARP Inspector-General, in an address to experts at the Institute of Transport on March 28:

A 500lb. armour-piercing bomb dropped from 10,000 feet will penetrate 35 feet into soil; 5ft. 6in. into concrete; 4in. into steel. A 2,000lb. bomb will penetrate over 6in. of steel.

Fragments of "general purpose" bombs will penetrate 10in. of brick, 10in. of concrete, and as much as 2in. of steel.

The high-explosive bomb was the most likely weapon. The use of incendiary bombs was also possible.

The Soul of Defence

THE above address formed the subject of editorial comment in *Engineering* on April 1, which referred to ARP plans as follows:

The policy which is thus being translated into action by these different methods is, of course, supplementary to what is being done in the organization of our fighting forces to ward off the invader. This aspect of the situation is, however, also, we are glad to think, receiving the full attention of his Majesty's Government, since, in the words of a military text book which it was the duty of some of us to study twenty or more years ago, "the soul of defence is the counter attack."

30 (Sat.) MANCHESTER; 2 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; annual general meeting; Manchester and District PPU.

MANCHESTER; 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; John Barclay; 6 p.m. discussion on PPU Politics and Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means*; PPU.

MUSWELL HILL; 4 p.m. Duke's Avenue. The Broadway; meet for poster parade and selling PEACE NEWS at 7 p.m.; PPU.

UXBRIDGE; 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Belmont Road; meet for poster parade; PPU.

LONDON W.C.1; 7.15 p.m. London Welsh Association Hall, Gray's Inn Road; Rev. Phyllis Webber on "The Necessity of Pacifism"; Rev. Alan Balding (chairman); For.

NEWTON ABBOT; 7.30 p.m. Market Square (if wet Public Library); Rev. Donald Fraser and G. Carpenter; PPU.

30—May 8 (Sat.-Sun.) POPLAR; continuation of Peace Fortnight; Trinity Church.

May

1 (Sun.) LEEDS; 8.15 p.m. Oxford Place Chapel; Canon Charles E. Raven on "Christ and War"; PPU.

2 (Mon.) TIVERTON; 12.30 p.m. outside Factory; Rev. Paul Gliddon; PPU. LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20 p.m. Friends' House, Euston Road; Miss E. Thornycroft on "The Work before the PPU"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

MORETONHAMPSTEAD; 7.30 p.m. Smethurst Hall; Rev. Paul Gliddon; PPU.

MUSWELL HILL; 7.30 p.m. corner of Prince's Avenue; open air meeting; PPU.

SAFFRON WALDEN; 7.30 p.m. Town Hall; Canon C. E. Raven and Councillor C. B. Rowntree (chairman); PPU.

TIVERTON; 7.30 p.m. War Memorial Hall; Rev. Paul Gliddon and J. N. Wales; PPU.

LONDON, W.1; 7.45 p.m. King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; group leaders' meeting; PPU.

ALTON; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Roy Walker on "Air Raid Precautions"; PPU.

HAYES END; 8 p.m. Methodist Church; Rev. C. W. Harrington on "The Realism of Christian Pacifism"; PPU.

MUSWELL HILL; 8 p.m. Northbank, Pages Lane; debate with LNU speakers; Nigel Spottiswoode and David Gregg; PPU.

3 (Tues.) HULL; 8 p.m. Peace Centre, 64 Prospect Street; Ben Greene (prospective Labour Candidate for S.W. Hull); monthly meeting of Hull PPU group.

4 (Wed.) BERMIONDSEY; 8 p.m. Libraries Hall, Spa Road; James H. Hudson, Dr. Theodore Faithfull, and Dr. Alfred Salter (chairman); PPU.

MUSWELL HILL; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Church Crescent; debate with Labour Party; "Collective Security or Pacifism"; PPU.

OAKHAMPTON; 8 p.m. Market Hall; Rev. Paul Gliddon and W. B. Curry; PPU.

PECKHAM; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Hanover Street; discussion, "How to deal with Dictators"; Nigel Spottiswoode; PPU.

SLOUGH; 8 p.m. Baptist Church Hall, Windsor Road; debate between Roy Walker and an Air Raid Warden; PPU.

5 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Robert O. Mennell, "Not by Might nor by Power..."; City PPU group.

TORQUAY; 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; For and PPU.

EASTBOURNE; 5.15 p.m. 1 Annington Road; meet for poster parade; PPU.

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MEETINGS, &c.

COOPERATION AND CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. Open conference, Saturday, 3 p.m.—9 p.m. Christ Church Parish Hall, Watney Street, Commercial Road, E.1. Speakers: H. J. Potter (Cooperative Productive Federation), A. D. Millard (Socialist Christian League).

PROFESSIONAL

INCOME TAX.—Do you pay too much? Refer your queries to—"Accountant," 6 Steele Road, London, N.17.

SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD. Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

SITUATIONS

Vacant

WANTED. A FIRST-CLASS TOOL MAKER for maintaining combination tools for small metal parts, also supervising Excenter presses; must be absolutely competent and reliable with measurements; permanent job. Full details Box 81, PEACE NEWS, 17 Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.

WORTHING. Pacifist Cook wanted. Write Box 82, PEACE NEWS, 17 Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.

Wanted

AIRCRAFT DRAUGHTSMAN, 24, intelligent, athletic, healthy, seeks employment on communal farm or similar institution. Willing to try almost anything, and, if necessary, live on bare necessities. Box 30, PEACE NEWS, 17 Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.

PUBLIC SCHOOL BOY, 30, resigned mobile police—avoiding ARP—urgently requires job. Expert driver-mechanic. Life-saving and first-aid awards. Try anything.—Box 78, PEACE NEWS, 17 Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.

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WHERE TO STAY

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Coming Shortly

May

14 (Sat.) NORWICH; St. Andrews Hall; delegate peace convention; George Lansbury, Lord Ponsonby, Mary Gamble, James Hudson, Dr. Alex Wood, Dr. Salter, Lord Sanderson, and Wilfred Wellock, Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

21 and 22 (Sat. and Sun.) HIGH FLATTS Guest House, near Penistone; week-end school; J. Allen Skinner; South Yorkshire Region PPU.

27—29 (Fri.—Sun.) BRISTOL; Central Hall, Old Market; National Peace Congress; National Peace Council. Details from Gerald Bailey, 39, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

HOW WOULD YOU SPEND THESE MILLIONS FOR PEACE?

The Last WAR cost Great Britain



Courtesy, The Ploughshare

Czech Nazis Demand Self-Government

HERR HENLEIN, leader of the Sudeten German Party in Czechoslovakia, put forward the following demands "in order to pave the way for peaceful development," at a meeting held by the party in Carlsbad on Sunday:

1. Full equality of status for Czechs and Germans;
2. A guarantee for this equality by the recognition of the Sudeten Germans as a legal body incorporate;
3. Determination and legal recognition of the German areas within the State;
4. Full self-government for the German areas;
5. Legal protection for every citizen living outside the area of his own nationality;
6. Removal of injustices inflicted since 1918 and reparation for the damages thereby caused;
7. Recognition of the principle: within the German area German officials;
8. Full liberty to profess German nationality and German political philosophy.

It was later emphasized by German officials that Herr Henlein was stating his party's minimum demands, which had the backing of Germany.

MUST BE PACIFISTS

The principal resolution at the fifth annual convention, in Burnley, of the Independent Socialist Party urged the adoption of a pacifist policy.

Moving the resolution, **Mr. J. Riley**, of Rossendale, said the party must develop a new technique. So long as they put any faith in armed force, they would retard the advance of socialism. The resolution was, however, defeated by a large majority.

ILLP. DECISION

A decision to "resist war under a capitalist government" and to oppose rearmament, was reached at the conference of the Independent Labour Party. An amendment stressing "the power of the workers in preventing war by refusal to make or handle means of carrying on warfare" was lost by 47 votes to 43.

INSTEAD OF HENDON

Fifty-eight stations of the Royal Air Force and 23 civil aerodromes will be open to the public on May 28, Empire Air Day. Air displays will be given at each.

Empire Air Day is to take the place of the abandoned Hendon Air Pageant, and the RAF is arranging a number of circuits to tour aerodromes in formation.

TERMS OF PACT WITH EIRE

Was Defence a Spur?

THE understanding which has been reached between the Governments of the United Kingdom and of Eire is recorded in three agreements, summarized below.

Coast Defence.—The first agreement transfers to Eire the Admiralty property and rights at Berehaven and the harbour defences at Berehaven, Cobh and Lough Swilly.

Finance.—The second agreement provides for (a) payment by the Government of Eire of £10,000,000 in final settlement of all financial claims (except annual payment of £250,000 a year by Government of Eire in respect of damage to property under 1925 agreement); (b) abolition of Special Duties imposed by United Kingdom in 1932 in retaliation for withholding of annuities and by Customs (Emergency) duties imposed by Government of Eire.

Trade.—The third agreement provides for the admission of goods from Eire free of Customs duties other than revenue duties (with provisions for quantitative regulation of agricultural imports).

The Government of Eire (a) guarantees continuance of the right of free entry for certain British goods which at present enjoy that right; (b) undertakes to remove or reduce Customs duties on certain British products, and to arrange for a review of existing protective tariffs; (c) undertakes to abolish control of coal imports, to maintain right of free entry for coal from the UK, and to impose a duty of 3s. a ton on foreign coal.

The treaty represents the ending of a conflict going back to 1932, when Mr. De Valera decided to withhold Land Annuities.

The need to avoid the possibility of Ireland being an unfriendly country in the event of a critical European situation is given, in more than one quarter, as the reason for the reconciliation. Common defensive measures for Eire can, in future, only be undertaken on the initiative of the government of that country.

WANTS WOMEN PILOTS TO RELEASE MAN-POWER

A scheme for the formation of an auxiliary unit of 100 women pilots has been drawn up by Ursula Waldron, niece of the Marchioness Townshend, for submission to the Air Ministry.

"There are thousands of women in Britain," she writes, "who hold pilots' certificates and who would willingly fly for their country in a war. They would not actually fight, but they could do the routine jobs, like flying new service planes to the fighting lines and flying the crows back."

"Think of the fighting man-power the women could relieve from routine jobs in the event of war."

What a Pacifist Budget Might Be Like

THIS drawing illustrates the terrible cost of war. It is becoming unfashionable nowadays to remind people that war does cost an almost inconceivable amount of money, besides the human tragedies which cannot be reckoned in mere figures.

It is therefore a good thing that those who stand for a real peace policy should point out to people that the saving of money from war and preparations for war could make it possible to bring about an increase in the health, liberty and happiness of millions.

We have at this moment the forces of production, &c., that could start to transform the lives which, from the cradle to the grave, are crabbied by the evils

of poverty, bad housing, and ill health. If we would stop forging instruments of death, our forces of production could be used in remedying those evils.

Such thoughts have prompted a **PEACE NEWS** reader, who wishes to be known simply as "Social pacifist," to consider the programme that a pacifist government could carry out with the money normally allocated to defence expenditure. Here are his conclusions:

According to the Budget, proposed expenditure for this item is about £43,000,000 for 1938/9. It follows, therefore, that as regards money alone the first pacifist electoral manifesto would probably have to be along something like the following lines:—

1. Reduction in direct taxation;
2. Reduction in duties on tea, sugar, &c.;
3. Increased unemployment assistance grants and abolition of Means Test;
4. Old Age Pension at 45;
5. Restoration of Penny Postage;
6. Abolition of Entertainment Tax;
7. Trade union rates of pay for work done by prisoners;
8. State hospitals;
9. Granting asylum to war refugees from other countries;
10. Pacifist State theatres;
11. Gifts to colonial peoples;
12. Increased grants for health services and scientific research;
13. Rebuilding of cities and towns so that there would be no family but would have at least three rooms to live in;
14. Building 500 ocean liners that the multitude might travel in them for health and pleasure;
15. Building 10,000 commercial air liners for the like reason as that in 14;
16. Appointment of commissions to visit other countries—Germany, Russia, Italy, USA, Denmark, France, Turkey, Luxembourg, &c.—to ascertain their best social ideas with a view to applying them here;
17. Grant for encouragement of international sports meetings;
18. Thirty-six hour week;
19. Compensation and pensions for soldiers, sailors, &c., displaced and remaining unabsorbed;

This programme is given as an indication of the kind of measures that could be undertaken with the money that would be available, for our correspondent points out that

A reasonable, practicable programme, of which that given above is, of course, but a phantom, capable of being bettered by yourself in an hour's cogitation, would first intrigue, and then capture, the imagination of many.

Here is a chance, then, for budding Chancellors of the Exchequer: How would a pacifist government spend its money?

Sir John Simon has had to find millions for war. How would you plan the spending of those millions for peace?

Rearmament Budget is Not Balanced

By Our Lobby Correspondent

The Lobby Correspondent of **PEACE NEWS** was himself the Parliamentary Secretary of a former Chancellor of the Exchequer. On three occasions he carried into the House of Commons the famous red despatch box of Mr. Gladstone. His preliminary probe into the revealed contents of the box on this occasion has, therefore, its special interest.

PAYING the piper is a solitary process. The tune that is called becomes less pleasing as the payment increases. I will predict that this budget will stimulate much consideration of the unwisdom of our armaments policy.

An income tax of 5s. 6d.—only 6d. short of the war tax—made them whistle. It was not according to the oracle. The city was depressed. After all, J. L. Garvin and the other quidnuncs had buoyed them up with an unbounded faith in the willingness of posterity to bear the burdens we are not ourselves prepared to bear.

Even with the extra sixpence paid now, posterity will pay more than it wants. Heavy supplementary estimates, said the Chancellor, would be introduced later. For these the budget did not provide. They will amount at least to £90,000,000, all of which must therefore be raised on loan.

Seven years ago such a situation would have been described, actually was described, as an unbalanced budget and national bankruptcy.

Sir John Simon, of course, put the best face he could on the matter. The humblest home, he said, was filled with pride and willingness to take a share in the cost of defending it from peril.

This was perhaps uttered with the hope of impressing Hitler. It certainly won't impress the humble homes, whose occupiers have already heard enough about the gas masks, the cellophane

BUDGET ANALYSE

Cecil H. Wilson, MP, makes this careful estimate of war and peace expenditure in the budget:—Last year, 11s. 1d. was spent on past, present and future war, and 8s. 11d. on home needs out of every £1 the budget raised. This year the proportion for war has increased to 11s. 5d., and 8s. 7d. is allocated to home needs. But if the additional £90,000,000 raised by loan is included the proportion is 12s. 2d. and 7s. 10d.

paper, and the non-existent concrete dug-outs to know how little worth attaches to the defence for which they will now pay through the nose.

Mr. Garvin used to say no budget could be justified which exceeded £800,000,000. This one is nearly £950,000,000. Next year, as the Chancellor said, it would be more, and the year after more still.

The Government's bulk purchase of wheat, oil, and sugar without even a by-your-leave of Parliament was due, said the Chancellor, to the fact that if the State had not acted surreptitiously the dealers would have fleeced the State.

Pride and willingness to pay are qualities only for humble homes.

As I said, there's nothing like having to foot the bill to bring back a sense of reality to a patriotic and hypnotized nation.

These notes must go to press before I can learn whether the opposition parties have sufficiently recovered from their anti-fascist preoccupation to direct any effective Parliamentary criticism against this rake's progress to financial ruin. Montesquieu wrote in his *Spirit of Laws*

A new disease has spread through Europe. It becomes infectious, for as soon as one State increases its forces the others at once increase theirs so that nothing is gained by it except general ruin.

James H. Hudson

PEACE NEWS

April 30, 1938

Community : A New Way to Tackle Social Problems

From Our Own Correspondent

A PLEA for community as a practical issue for everyday people was made by Mary Osborn at the Community Session of the Youth Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Often, she said, it called up a picture of a group of people isolated from the everyday affairs of the world, trying to escape from reality and proclaiming their "difference" from other folk by extravagant mannerisms and queer habits. That was not community in the sense in which the subject was to be considered today.

Community meant not isolation and escape from the problems of the world. It meant a realistic effort to face them, to recognize them for what they were and to grapple with them in a positive and personal way.

But no half-measures could achieve this: a new way of life rooted in love and fellowship and faith was needful. Toward that new way many men and women were working in various directions. For community was a natural growth of the spirit and conformed to no set rule or pattern.

COMMUNITY IN EAST END

Every community of like-minded people would work out their own conceptions of life in their own fashion. But it was vital that all should at least consider the claims of this issue, its relation to their daily work and its possibilities not only for themselves but for others.

Sketching the development of the Community of the Way, with which she was personally concerned, the speaker illustrated the practical problems of community and the way in which the spirit of community met them in the heart of an East End district.

The story of this small but remarkably interesting experiment stressed the need not simply for working among those condemned to the depressed areas, but of personal identification with them—a very different matter.

The discussion following the talk indicated the wide interest of the conference in the subject of the address.

Mary Osborn is a member of the Community Service Committee which offers information and assistance to all interested in this subject. With Judith Honneger she inaugurated and is carrying on community work among unemployed families, at 23 Raverley Street, Bow.

THEY WANT TO TEACH PEACE

Some 25 countries were represented at a conference to re-examine peace-teaching in schools, which opened in London on Friday last, under the auspices of the League of Nations Union.

Professor Gilbert Murray, at the opening, noted that in many places there was already a reaction against the preference given by universities to utilitarian and scientific studies at the cost of the humanities.

Mr. C. W. H. Weaver, who represented the Director of the International Labour Organization, appealed to teachers to include something about the aims and works of the ILO in their lessons on international relations.

THE REAL WAR

Mr. Irwin R. Kvenzli, of the American Federation of Teachers, was warmly cheered when he declared that the only war which interested American teachers was the war against ignorance, poverty and disease. As munition makers were organized for war so teachers must be organized internationally for peace, he said. The children of the world must be taught it is more glorious to live for the world than to die for one's country.—*Manchester Guardian*, April 19.



Releasing balloons at the opening of the Dick Sheppard Centre, referred to in column four. John Barclay writes about the value of such centres for peace work in his Group Notes on page four.

London's First Dick Sheppard Centre

BAYSWATER group of the Peace Pledge Union has just opened its Dick Sheppard Centre—the first in London.

It was previously the Troubadour night-club at 52, Queensway, Bayswater, but the group bought it for quite a small sum and about £60 has been spent on it. The result is that people who did know it will scarcely recognize the place now.

New Body for Social Research?

INFLUENTIAL support has been forthcoming for a proposal to form an organization to study the social relations of science.

A representative of the American Association for the Advancement of Science is sending a representative to discuss the prospects of joint action with the British Association. The American Association has officially expressed its concern that

science and its applications are not only transforming the physical and mental environment of men but are adding greatly to the complexities of the social, economic, and political relations among them.

The subject is likely to be discussed by a representative conference which would appoint a committee to go fully into the constitution of the proposed body and its relations to existing research organizations.

Pacifists at National Peace Congress

It is hoped that groups of the Peace Pledge Union will be well represented at the National Peace Congress to be held in Bristol from May 27 to 29.

The fee for delegates is 2s. 6d., which will include admission to reserved areas at a public demonstration and to a peace service. Individuals will also be welcomed, as visitors, on payment of 2s. 6d. for the whole congress or 1s. for each session they attend.

The general subject of the congress is "Peace in relation to the social needs of the peoples," and at the session on "United action for peace" the speakers will include Dr. C. E. M. Joad and Canon Stuart Morris. Full particulars are obtainable from Gerald Bailey, National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

ABYSSINIA: WOMEN'S APPEAL

An appeal to the Government not to recognize the annexation of Ethiopia was contained in a letter sent to the Prime Minister last week by the Women's International League, which claims that "nothing has happened to alter the unanimous acceptance by the League Council on October 11, 1935, of the Article 15 report on the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, nor the recognition by Britain in company with almost all other League States that Italy had committed aggression."

University News

RAPID GROWTH—& THE REASON

From Our Own Correspondent

THE PPU group in Goldsmith's College is the oldest university group in London. It has an interesting record which can be an inspiration to struggling groups elsewhere.

In January, 1937, a student in his final year at Goldsmith's College signed the peace pledge. The following week he met another PPU member in the college and decided to start a group. Within a week a local church meeting had been addressed and four other "Smiths" persuaded to join. From the start numbers increased rapidly due to almost fanatical enthusiasm and a tremendous amount of hard work.

The group numbered a dozen within a fortnight. Meetings were arranged three times a week. These began with addresses, and later became discussion circles where awkward questions were discussed and pacifist literature studied.

The leader, being also a member of the LNU, Political Society, and a Historical Society, set to work to permeate all committees. By March even critics were impressed by the vigour of the group, now numbering thirty.

Soon the group had the triumph of winning an inter-hostel debate with the motion that "The Government's policy should be disarmament." This was won on the case for unilateral disarmament and publicity was secured by getting the result published in four papers, including the *Daily Herald*.

"HINDERING RECRUITING"

There followed refusal to grant the group official recognition, although permission was given for a meeting to be addressed by General Crozier and Dr. Alex Wood. By the end of the term numbers reached fifty.

The question of recognition arose next term. In an interview on the subject the principal was very kind, but said the PPU might be considered to be hindering recruiting.

Thereupon the group leader blandly pointed out that the group didn't mind people joining the army, provided they never killed! Eventually, however, recognition was granted for a year.

The term ended with 68 members, including two ex-members of the OTC. Although 34 members went down in June, 1937, numbers have now risen to 77, including three lecturers.

SUMMER SPEAKING TOUR

From Our Own Correspondent

THE University College group of the Peace Pledge Union is to be responsible this summer for the organization of a speaking tour on the South Coast.

This was decided at a meeting held in Bedford College, London, last Friday, to discuss the functions of the London Committee of the University Pacifist Federation.

It was also agreed to send a letter to all universities and university colleges. Any group secretary or individual member who has not received one by today (Saturday) should write at once to the secretary, University Pacifist Federation, c/o Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, marking the envelope "Peace News" in the top left-hand corner.

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